FBIS DAILY REPORT

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JOINT MILITARY TALKS WITH KAMPUCHEA CONTINUE

AU011805 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 1 Aug 81

[Text] The Kampuchean military delegation led by Chan Si, minister of national defense, has visited the Kimon Georgiev Hydroelectric Power Station in the town of [name indistinct].

This afternoon, the official talks between the delegations of the Bulgarian People's Army and of the Kampuchean National Revolutionary Army continued at the Ministry of National Defense.

Col Gen Atanas Semerdzhiev, first deputy minister of national defense and chief of staff, assured the Kampuchean comrades of Bulgaria's genuine feelings of solidarity and combat friendship with the struggle of the Kampuchean people.

Chan Si expressed admiration of what he had seen in our country and of the tireless labor of the Bulgarian people for building a developed socialist society and for fulfilling the decisions of the 12th BCP Congress as well as of their readiness to defend socialism and peace.

Delegation Departs

AU021926 Sofia BTA in English 1850 GMT 2 Aug 81

[Text] Sofia, 2 Aug (BTA)--Today a delegation of the People's Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea, led by Mr Chan Si, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CC of the People's Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea, deputy chairman of the Ministerial Council and minister of the national defence of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, left the country. The delegation was on a visit here at the invitation of Army General Dobri Dzhurov, member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP and minister of the national defence.

KUWAITI MINISTER OF COMMUNICATIONS VISITS

AU301910 Sofia BTA in English 1832 GMT 30 Jul 81

[Text] Sofia, 30 Jul (BTA)--Mr 'Isa al-Masidi, minister of communications of Kuwait is on a visit to Bulgaria at the invitation of the Ministry of Communications.

Today he met Mr Pando Vanchev, Bulgaria's minister of communications. Questions of mutual interest in further expanding the cooperation in the field of post offices and telecommunications were discussed. The two parties to the talks expressed desire to establish direct telephone lines between Bulgaria and Kuwait, to open a television line to Kuwait and to train Kuwaiti technicians in Bulgaria. A direct office of dispatch for international postal exchange is now operating five times a week.

The Kuwaiti guest also had talks with Mr Vasil Tsanov, transport minister of Bulgaria, concerning the transport ties between the two countries. Questions related to expanding Bulgaria's participation in the transport network construction in Kuwait, to increasing the charter Kuwait-Varna flights in summer, to working out and signing a navigation agreement were discussed. Recently Bulgarian crews began to handle some of the tankers of Kuwait.

At a meeting with the foreign minister Petur Mladenov, the Kuwaiti minister noted that there are possibilities for still closer contacts in all spheres of the economic life between Bulgaria and Kuwait.

Mr 'Isa al-Masidi visited communication projects and had talks with specialists engaged in the field of communications in Plovdiv and Sofia.

Talks Continue

AU311344 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1300 GMT 31 Jul 81

[Text] The talks between Pando Vanchev, minister of communications, and 'Isa al-Masidi, minister of communications of Kuwait, have continued in Sofia. A wide range of issues on further developing the cooperation between the two countries was discussed. An agreement on further expanding the telephone and teletype lines between Bulgaria and Kuwait was also reached. It was provided for introducing a system of so-called credit cards for teletype and telephone service. The two ministries will organize seminars and symposiums on the problems of the postal and teletype services.

FILIPOV, MLADENOV RECEIVE INDIAN PARLIAMENT MEMBER

AU311937 Sofia BTA in English 1838 GMT 31 Jul 81

[Text] Sofia, 31 Jul (BTA)--Today Mr Rajiv Gandhi, deputy to the House of the People of the Indian Parliament arrived on a visit here.

He was received by Mr Grisha Filipov, chairman of the Council of Ministers. Discussing questions related to Bulgaro-Indian cooperation, the two parties to the talks expressed satisfaction with the expanding and strengthening of the economic, techno-scientific and cultural ties. It was noted that there are untapped possibilities and good prospects for further expanding the contacts in a number of economic spheres.

Accent was laid on the contribution the personal meetings of Mr Todor Zhivkov and Mrs Indira Gandhi, made to the dynamic development of cooperation between Bulgaria and India.

Mr Rajiv Gandhi was also received by Mr Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs.

During the talks, a positive assessment was given to the Bulgaro-Indian political, economic and cultural relations, too.

Issues related to the present international situation were also discussed and anxiety of its deterioration was expressed. Special attention was paid to the region of the Indian Ocean the Persian Gulf and the far east.

Filipov Gives Dinner

AU311939 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 31 Jul 81

[Text] Comrade Grisha Filipov gave a dinner in honor of Rajiv Gandhi, deputy to the House of the People of the Indian Parliament. The two officials exchanged toasts for strengthening and expanding Bulgarian-Indian relations, to their prosperity and to both peoples' happiness.

The official dinner proceeded in a friendly atmosphere.

Zhivkov Receives Gandhi

AU021737 Sofia BTA in English 1846 GMT 2 Aug 81

[Text] Sofia, 2 Aug (BTA)--Today Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP and president of the State Council received Mr Rajiv Gandhi, deputy to the House of the People of the Indian Parliament who is on a visit to our country.

Gandhi Departs

AU030930 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 3 Aug 81

[Text] On 3 August RAjiv Gandhi, deputy of the Indian Parliament's House of the People, departed from Bulgaria. At the Sofia Airport he was seen off by Marin Votov, deputy minister of foreign affairs, and Tocho Tochev and Baglodi Deva Rao, the two countries' ambassadors.

GEORGI ATANASOV GREETS SPANISH CP CONGRESS

AU011606 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 29 Jul 81 p 7

[Report on message from Georgi Atanasov, BCP Central Committee secretary, on behalf of BCP Central Committee, to the 10th Spanish Communist Party Congress in Madrid on 28 July 1981]

[Text] Dear comrades, the BCP Central Committee sends cordial fraternal greetings to the delegates and guests of the 10th Spanish Communist Party Congress as well as to all Spanish communists.

Bulgarian communists are following with keen interest and are enjoying the successes of the Spanish communists who, under complicated and difficult conditions, are struggling to defend, intensify and develop democracy as well as to rally the ranks and strengthen the unity of the workers class and of all working people in the struggle for deep social reforms, peace and socialism.

We take advantage of this opportunity to once again express our solidarity with the communists and all democratic forces in Spain who are decisively opposing the constant attempts of the reaction aimed at destroying constitutional order and diverting the Spanish people from the path toward democracy and progress they have chosen.

There are long traditional relations of friendship and cooperation between the Bulgarian and the Spanish communists, who were strongly united as early as during the national revolutionary struggle of the Spanish people in defending the republic from the fascist rebels and foreign interventionists. Famous people such as Georgi Dimitrov, Jose Dias and Dolores Ibarruri have left a deep and lasting imprint on these relations.

We are pleased to note the present positive development of the friendly ties between our two parties and are expressing our desire that they continue and develop on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The greetings message further emphasized that 1981 was full of noteworthy anniversaries for the Bulgarian people and stressed the country's great successes in building socialism.

On the threshhold of the eighties, the greetings message continues, the world has plunged into an atmosphere of intensified political tension, provoked by the aggressive circles of the United States and NATO. Now, more than ever before, the fundamental task of all communists and peaceloving people is to save the world from a thermonuclear disaster and to stop the arms race in nuclear missile armament. That is why Bulgarian communists and all Bulgarians have adopted the peace program approved by the 26th CPSU Congress as a program of their own and will spare no efforts to implement it. The BCP and the People's Republic of Bulgaria are following a consistent policy of peace, understanding and mutually beneficial cooperation in the Balkans, Europe and the world as well as a policy of making the Balkan Peninsula a stable area of detente.

Loyal to its international traditions, the BCP is actively contributing to strengthening the cohesion and unity of the socialist community and the international communist and workers movement and to rendering efficient support to all progressive forces struggling against imperialism and reaction as well as for freedom, independence, peace and social progress.

Long live and may the friendship between the Bulgarian and Spanish communists as well as between the Bulgarian and the Spanish people be strengthened!

Long live peace and communism!

Atanasov Delegation Returns

AU021943 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1930 GMT 2 Aug 81

[Text] On 2 August the BCP delegation led by Georgi Atanasov, BCP Central Committee secretary, which took part in the 10th Congress of the Spanish Communist Party, returned to Bulgaria. At Sofia Airport the delegation was greeted by Misho Mishev, BCP Central Committee secretary.

TAKOV-LED DELEGATION RETURNS FROM NICARAGUA, CUBA

AU011536 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 1 Aug 81

[Text] The Bulgarian delegation led by Peko Takov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and deputy chairman of the State Council, has returned home. The delegation had attended the national celebrations in Nicaragua on the second anniversary of victory day and the 20th anniversary of the founding of the Sandinista Front for National Liberation. The delegation also attended celebrations in Cuba on the occasion of 26 July--the day of national uprising--and on the 28th anniversary of the beginning of the people's revolution.

At Sofia Airport he was welcomed by Georgi Yordanov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers; Mitko Grigorov, deputy chairman of the State Council; deputy ministers and responsible figures of the BCP Central Committee.

GEORGE MARCHAIS ARRIVES IN COUNTRY ON HOLIDAY

AU011928 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 1 Aug 81

[Text] At the invitation of Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee secretary general and chairman of the State Council, George Marchais, secretary general of the French Communist Party, has arrived in Bulgaria on a holiday. He was welcomed at Sofia Airport by Dimitur Stanishev, BCP Central Committee secretary.

FILIPOV THANKS LAO COUNTERPART FOR GREETINGS

BK301330 Vientiane Domestic Service in Lao 0000 GMT 30 Jul 81

[Text] Comrade Kaysone Phomvihan, premier of the LPDR, [Lao People's Democratic Republic] recently received a message of thanks from Comrade Grisha Filipov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Bulgarian People's Republic. The message reads:

Please, comrade, accept my cordial thanks for your warm greetings and congratulations extended to me on the occasion of my election as chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Bulgarian People's Republic.

I share with you the firm confidence that the existing friendly relations and cooperation between our two countries will be further developed in the interest of peace and socialism.

FORMER PARTY SECRETARY PRUMOV RECEIVES AWARD

AU021755 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 2 Aug 81

[Text] The State Council has issued a decree awarding Ivan Raychinov Prumov the Hero of Socialist Labor title on his active participation in the struggle against capitalism and fascism and the construction of socialism as well as on his 60th birthday.

HUSAK RETURNS HOME FROM CPSU HOSTED VACATION

LD021726 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 2 Jul 81

[Text] Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the republic, returned today from the USSR where he spent his vacation at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee.

POLISH HUNGER STRIKES REPORTED, CRITICIZED

'Antisocialist Forces'

LD311652 Prague CTK in English 1500 GMT 31 Jul 81

[Text] Warsaw, 31 July (CETEKA)--Antisocialist forces in Poland which manipulate the trade union organization "Solidarity," have launched a new stage of political struggle in the form of the so-called "hunger marches," antigovernment demonstrations and new strikes.

Despite the fact that the situation in good supplies has been grave for a number of months, "Solidarity" has launched its new campaign at the time when the government was forced to take some necessary measures.

The government had to decrease meat rations by 20 percent. "Solidarity" did not appeal to farmers to increase their deliveries for the market, but provoked new protest actions.

Walesa's trade unions plan similar provocations as yesterday's "hunger march" for the next days. The Warsaw branch of "Solidarity" worked out yesterday a "calendar of strike actions" in the Warsaw area. "Strike emergency" is to be declared in Warsaw enterprises on Monday and a "warning strike" is planned for Wednesday if the government does not improve the situation in supplies "immediately."

Solidarity's Activities

LD011950 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1630 GMT 1 Aug 81

[Text] Over the past few days antisocialist forces in neighboring Poland have organized demonstrations and so-called hunger marches. Frantisek Sojka, our Warsaw correspondent, has more to say on the situation in that country:

[Begin Sojka recording] It is sufficient to read the report on the state of the economy during the first 6 months of the current year: A decline in output and labor productivity are the principal reasons for the further profound decline in all economic indicators. Incomes have increased but people are working less and for this reason there are fewer goods in the shops.

Solidarity, however, refuses to acknowledge this simple truth. This is understandable because otherwise it would have to admit that its economic terror campaign against the government, its instigation of strikes and as a consequence of this the decline both in social and work discipline take a lion's share of the responsibility for the present catastrophic situation. One could also place among its protests and pressure actions Solidarity's advocacy of the idea of so-called group ownership, which basically means the creation of totally new economic and political structures. Demonstrations and hunger marches, which are designed to compromise the party and the government and to convince the public that Solidarity is the only force capable of resolving the crisis, serve this objective. In any case, as one can see from the words of one of Solidarity's representatives the other day on Polish television, the government's right to make any decisions depends on its attitude toward Solidarity. These startling words do not arise merely from unsatisfied power ambitions, but also from the awareness of the ever-growing scope for political activity opened to Solidarity, which no longer has any problems in organizing strikes and demonstrations. Moreover, the quantity of material it is publishing is continually increasing, and it is also claiming that the government cannot adopt any important decisions without its consent.

In the meantime, this so-called trade union, as I was able to see for myself in the headquarters of its Lodz organization, is printing posters which feature in connection with the recent party congress, the revoltingly telling symbol of a human skull. When, however, someone of courage publicly draws attention to the danger represented by the antisocialist and counterrevolutionary forces in Solidarity, he is mercilessly silenced. Such a person becomes a target of slanders and attacks as some kind of conservative or reactionary, and also not seldom becomes the target of physical assaults. But one should not be surprised, for the Solidarity boss in Bydgoszcz, Rulewski, recently declared that where Solidarity is involved, he is not interested in democracy. [end recording]

PRAGUE ASSAILS U.S. HOUSE RESOLUTION ON POLAND

LD311220 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1030 GMT 31 Jul 81

[Text] The U.S. House of Representatives has adopted a provocative resolution which is a manifestation of gross interference in the affairs of sovereign Poland and which clearly aims at exacerbating the internal political situation in that socialist country. In its resolution the United States seeks to dictate to the Polish Government and people American conditions for the solution of Poland's problems.

TASS commentator Yuriy Levchenko writes today that the provocative nature of the resolution has been patently confirmed by Clement Zablocki, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the House of Representatives. He said that the United States will not remain indifferent to any measures of internal pressure in Poland. In other words, Washington arrogates for itself some kind of right to dictate to a sovereign state what measures it may or may not take in order to restore order in its own country and protect the interests of the overwhelming majority of the population of the country against attacks by the counterrevolution, instigated from the West.

(?These) threats can be regarded as nothing but direct instigation of antisocialist elements to engage in anti-popular and antistate activities. The concealed essence of such signals to Polish counterrevolutionary forces is the promise of help from abroad. Against this backdrop Zablocki's statement on the danger of external aggression against Poland is as pharisaic and hypocritical as his statement that foreign interference in Poland's affairs is intolerable, the TASS commentator stresses.

Zablocki must know only too well that especially the United States and its allies have been financing and continue to finance antisocialist groups in Poland, and that they are supplying them illegally with printing materials and other equipment. All this is paid for by the CIA from a special fund to aid Poland which has been formally set up by the AFL-CIO trade union center.

The extent of the CIA's Polish operation is demonstrated by the fact that the espionage agency has already made full use of all its Polish cadres and, as the Washington POST has confirmed, it is now hastily recruiting all kinds of Americans who have at least a smattering of Polish.

The radio stations Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, controlled by the CIA espionage service, have in fact been turned into coordination centers to direct antigovernment provocations in Poland.

All these facts are nothing other than a manifestation of gross foreign interference in Poland's affairs, undeclared aggression against a socialist country. The very fact that the U.S. House of Representatives has issued the provocative document precisely at a time when in Poland, after a certain period of relative calm, the counterrevolution is again becoming active, clearly proves the concerted nature of the anti-Polish campaign which demonstrates that this campaign is led from one single center, TASS correspondent Yuriy Levchenko underlines.

REAGAN FOREIGN POLICY DOMINATED BY ANTI-SOVIETISM

LD021154 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 0730 GMT 2 Aug 81

[Antonin Kostka commentary]

[Excerpt] The 100 days of Napoleon's power preceding the defeat at Waterloo has become the traditional period of time in which statesmen show their worth and how well they can cope with their tasks.

Journalists in the West have been very lenient toward U.S. President Reagan, perhaps because of their childhood memories when they were charmed by his cowboy roles. However, the second 100 days of Reagan's power are slowly coming to an end and it is only now that Western newsmen are asking the question: Does the Reagan government have any foreign policy? When Reagan was asked that directly at his last press conference he got out with a joking statement: It is enough for me to be sure that we have a foreign policy of a sort. This foreign policy of a sort lacks a finished program containing a conception of strictly defined aims. However, it is, as everyone unanimously agrees, expressively marked by anti-Sovietism. It is impossible not to agree with the International HERALD TRIBUNE which said recently that anti-Sovietism and in a wide conception by antisocialism, has taken place at the expense of good international relations.

The observation of events this summer fully confirms that this change has taken place. And the events of the last week were not an exception. There was no day on which we could not note some action, threat or measure aimed against socialist countries. At the beginning of the week we learned that U.S. units in the FRG were beginning to move nearer to our borders. On Tuesday, under the pretext of Soviet supplies of arms, the U.S. Secretary of State, General Haig, threatened to hit the source of the supplies, and on the same day he was promising to launch hard sanctions against the USSR and the socialist countries as a whole in the case of an alleged invasion of Poland. Two days later the House of Representatives approved a resolution on the situation in Poland where they went even further than Haig because, as the chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee said, the United States would not remain indifferent to any measures of internal pressure. So, gentlemen from Congress are no longer alarmed only by an intervention from outside but they are even worried about internal measures, that is, about the provisions made by the Polish Government itself. And that this is not accidental was also confirmed by attempts to dictate internal changes and measures to Poland at the Zurich deliberations about the Polish foreign debt. And all this is in accidental coincidence with the activization of the antisocialist forces in Poland itself and with antigovernmental demonstrations organized by so-called Solidarity allegedly against hunger and shortage of goods and thus against something caused by Solidarity itself by its persistent disorganization of production and agricultural produce.

Perhaps the most militant this week was Caspar Weinberger, secretary of defense, as fits his function. At a rally of one of the U.S. women's organizations in New York he spoke about the intentions of the government to mobilize the forces in science and technology, all forces in the country, in order to increase the military power of the United States to the maximum. The value of this should be $1,460 billion in the next 5 years. However, according to the International HERALD TRIBUNE, Weinberger's strategic directives to the Armed Forces contain an order to find out how industry should change in order to make it possible to use one half of the gross national income of the United States for the army in case of need. This half equals the amount so far quoted for 5 years but it seems that there is an alternative of spending it in 1 year, however only in case of need. This is comparable to Hitler's total mobilization against bolshevism.

HOFFMANN MEETS WITH VISITING SOVIET TU OFFICIALS

LD312208 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1630 GMT 31 Jul 81

[Text] Karel Hoffmann, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Central Council of Trade Unions, met officials of the Soviet Council of Trade Unions, who are in our homeland at the invitation of the Central Council of Trade Unions, in Prague today.

In a comradely talk they discussed the topical issues of the activity of the Soviet and Czechoslovak trade unions and their mutual cooperation.

CPCZ GREETS BULGARIAN COMMUNISTS ON ANNIVERSARY

AU310906 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 30 Jul 81 p 1

[Text] Prague, 29 Jul--The CPCZ Central Committee sent the BCP Central Committee the following greetings telegram on the 90th anniversary of the establishment of the revolutionary Marxist party in Bulgaria:

Dear comrades, on the occasion of a significant jubilee--the 90th anniversary of the establishment of the revolutionary Marxist party in Bulgaria--we send you, your entire party and all Bulgarian people ardent comradely greetings and sincere congratulations.

The constituent congress of the Bulgarian Social-Democratic Party in August 1981 laid the foundations for a new phase in the development of the revolutionary movement in your fatherland. The Bulgarian workers class created its own party, which then played an important role in further development of the class battle in the country and which has become one of the firm detachments of the international workers movement.

The BCP followed up the best traditions of the past. An important event in the heroic fight of Bulgarian communists and people was the September uprising in 1923, which forged a union of the party and the workers class and farmers. The result of the uprising, during which the Bulgarian people clashed for the first time with the upcoming fascism, was the consolidation of the Communist Party's leading role in the working people's fight for democracy and progress.

Under the leadership of Georgi Dimitrov, significant representative of the international communist and workers movement, the BCP traveled a difficult and victorious road of battles against capitalism and fascism. After the liberation in 1944 it took its place as a steeled and recognized leader at the head of socialist building in the country and it raised the banner which 90 years ago had been hoisted at the Buzludzha congress by the pioneers of socialism.

In a historically short time Bulgaria changed into an advanced industrial-agricultural state with great international authority. We hold in particularly high esteem the BCP's share in the battle for consolidating the unity and cohesion of the countries of the socialist community and the international communist and workers movement, for peaceful cooperation and social progress throughout the world.

We are pleased to state that the traditional friendship and all-round cooperation between the CPCZ and BCP and between the CSSR and the Bulgarian People's Republic are constantly deepening and expanding on the basis of well-proven principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism. From the bottom of our hearts we wish the BCP and the Bulgarian people many successes in fulfilling the tasks of the 12th BCP Congress and new victories in the further all-round advance of socialist Bulgaria.

PRACE URGES TRADE UNIONS TO USE THEIR RIGHTS

AU311155 Prague PRACE in Czech 29 Jul 81 p 1

[Editorial: "Comprehensive View"]

[Excerpts] Whenever there is a discussion about social policy some of the ranking personnel and also trade union functionaries think first of all in terms of recreation, preschool facilities and, perhaps, factory canteens. Quite a lot has been done in this respect in recent years. Thanks to the trade unionists' labor brigades, the capacity of the preschool facilities in our country has increased by 226,000 places. This year, already the 3-millionth worker or a member of his family will take his turn in the selective recreation facilities provided by the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement [ROH] or in the recreation homes owned by enterprises. The trade unions provide more than 426,000 children with places in ROH summer camps. Today, more than 40 percent of all working people enjoy the advantages of factory canteens.

However, we must not forget that also--and above all-working conditions determine how contented the working people are and determine their attitude to an enterprise. It is praiseworthy when the number of instances is increasing when a trade union body, in exercise of its rights, emphatically asserts its own stance on the plans of economic management. There is even an increasing number of cases when a trade union body--with a legally valid assessment [pravoplatny vymer]--informs the management that if it does not eliminate defects on equipment by a certain deadline the operation of that equipment will be halted. In view of the number of labor accidents, however, the trade union bodies are not making enough use of that right. When an enterprise proudly flaunts its modern recreation center while rain pours into the workshops through holes in the roof, that does not attest to a well-thought our social policy. Many a ROH enterprise committee continues to quietly tolerate the failure to fulfill pledges contained in collective agreements, pledges which relate precisely to improving working conditions.

It is understandable that particularly in more demanding economic circumstances, trade unions can push through only those measures for which enterprises or plants have arned the resources by increasing production, by making production more efficient or qualitatively better. At present, more than ever before, the double role of the socialist trade unions comes to the fore--their care both for the development of the national economy and for the needs and interests of the working people. Submitting unrealistic social demands is certainly as much out of place as is ignoring the need to improve working conditions while increasing production. During the upcoming check of the fulfillment of collective pledges, every ROH enterprise committee should critically ponder the standard of comprehensive care for the working people, and on the basis of suggestions and recommendations from trade union sectors act as an equal partner of economic management and uncompromisingly demand joint solutions to problems that are ready to be resolved. This is so because practice has shown that when a person is satisfied with his work environment and sees that the economic management, together with the trade union organization, is taking care of his needs, he is as a rule not indifferent to the needs of the enterprise and not on the lookout for another job.

BRIEFS

FLOOD-RELATED DAMAGE--The Beroun District was one of the areas affected most by the recent floods. In the Kraluv Dvur ironworks in Beroun flooding has caused a production shortfall of Kcs8.2 million; i- the record-manufacturing plant in Lodenice near Beroun flooding has caused, next to production shortfalls, Kcs4.5 million worth of damage to the plant's equipment and products. [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 30 Jul 81 p 2 AU]

POLISH LEADERS REPLY TO HONECKER, STOPH GREETINGS

LD312014 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1717 GMT 31 Jul 81

[Text] Berlin 31 Jul (ADN)--The first secretary of the PZPR, Stanislaw Kania; the chairman of the Council of State of the Polish People's Republic, Henryk Jablonski; and the chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic, Wojciech Jaruzelski, have sent the following telegram to the general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, Erich Honecker:

In the name of the PZPR Central Committee, the Council of State and the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic, in the name of the Polish people, we thank you for the congratulations on the occasion of the 37th anniversary of the founding of People's Poland.

With this we are expressing our conviction that the friendship and cooperation which unite Poland and the GDR will also serve in the future successful development of our mutual relations in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism for the benefit of both peoples and states. The chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, Willi Stoph, received an identically-worded telegram.

TALKS CONCLUDE ON SENDING MEAT TO POLAND

LD311554 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1508 GMT 31 Jul 81

[Text] Berlin, 31 July (ADN)--The Ministry for Foreign Trade announced that an agreement to deliver 10,000 tons of meat to the People's Republic of Poland has been concluded between the GDR foreign trade enterprise "Foodstuffs" and the Polish foreign trade enterprise "Animex."

ADN CITES 'LIE' IN FRG WEEKLY, ASSISTANCE TO PZPR

LD020906 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0826 GMT 2 Aug 81

[Text] Berlin, 2 Aug (ADN)--The Federal German magazine DER SPIEGEL has come up with a new lie for the gratification of its readers. A few years ago it was an alleged "manifesto"; now it is an alleged "flysheet" which accuses the GDR leadership of acting as a "spearhead against the democratic forces in the Warsaw Pact." Obviously, DER SPIEGEL is not pleased that with its food deliveries to the People's Republic of Poland the GDR is helping it to surmount the demoralizing effects of the social chaos and speculation which are ravaging the country. This is further proof of the correctness of the decision to close DER SPIEGEL's office in Berlin.

SINDERMANN RECEIVES USSR'S KAPITONOV, DELEGATION

LD312110 East Berlin Voice of the GDR Domestic Service in German 1700 GMT 31 Jul 81

[Text] Horst Sindermann, president of the GDR People's Chamber and member of the Politburo and of the SED Central Committee today received the USSR Supreme Soviet delegations headed by Ivan Kapitonov, CPSU Central Committee secretary for a closing talk. The exchange of opinions and ideas concerned the role of the socialist parliaments in the development of socialist democracies and the mass initiatives of the workers, as well as the deep responsibility of the people's representatives of the People's Chamber's Committees participating in the meeting.

Kapitonov Departs

LD011155 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0833 GMT 1 Aug 81

[Text] Berlin, 1 Aug (ADN)--The USSR Supreme Soviet delegation headed by Ivan Kapitonov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and deputy of the Soviet Union ended its week's visit to the GDR on Saturday morning.

The Soviet parliamentarians were cordially seen off at Berlin-Schoenefeld Airport by President of the GDR People's Chamber Horst Sindermann, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo. USSR ambassador to the GDR Petr Abrasimov was also present.

USSR HOLDS RECEPTION AT EMBASSY IN BERLIN

LD312159 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 2000 GMT 31 Jul 81

[Text] The unbreakable friendship between the GDR and the USSR was reaffirmed this evening at a reception in the Soviet Embassy in Berlin. At the invitation of Petr Abrasimov, members of the Politburo of the SED Central Committee Horst Sindermann, president of the People's Chamber; Paul Verner, secretary of the Central Committee; and Konrad Naumann, as well as the commander in chief of the Soviet forces in Germany, Mikhail Zaytsev, and other personages from GDR public life attended the reception.

USSR'S KULIKOV MEETS WITH DEFENSE MINISTER

LD011745 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1705 GMT 1 Aug 81

[Text] Berlin 1 Aug (ADN)--The commander in chief of the Warsaw Pact Joint Forces, Marshal of the Soviet Union Kulikov, paid a routine visit this weekend to the GDR's National People's Army. He was received by GDR Defense Minister Army Gen Heinz Hoffmann for a working conversation. On behalf of Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, he presented to Marshal Kulikov the Order of Patriotic Merit in gold which has been conferred on him on his 60th birthday for his work in strengthening the brotherhood-in-arms among the armies of the Soviet defense coalition.

At the meeting, which passed in a friendly atmosphere and in a spirit of complete agreement, the two men discussed the current military-political situation and further deepening of the socialist class-based and military alliance. Army General Hoffmann told his visitor that great efforts are being made in the units and services of the GDR National People's Army in order to enhance its fighting power and combat preparedness. They are reflected in good and very good results in all branches of training.

Both men then visited units of the National People's Army. At the end of the visit Marshal Kulikov thanked his comrade-in-arms for the exemplary devotion to duty and high training level of the National People's Army. He described this as evidence of its internationalist attitude and resolve to reliably protect, alongside the soldiers of the fraternal armies of the socialist defense alliance, the gains of the working people and the cause of peace from all imperialist plots.

MUECKENBERGER MEETS WITH CP OFFICIALS IN DENMARK

LD311643 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1141 GMT 31 Jul 81

[Excerpts] Copenhagen, 31 July (ADN)--At the present time of aggravated worldwide tension the national parliaments bear great responsibility for the preservation of peace, the promotion of the process of detente and the implementation of specific disarmament proposals. This was stressed in Copenhagen today by the president of the Danish Folketing, K.B. Andersen, and the member of the Presidium of the GDR People's Chamber, Erich Mueckenberger, at a friendly meeting.

During the talk, both sides explained their points of view on questions of mutual interest. Mueckenberger and Andersen expressed their satisfaction at the present state of relations between the parliaments of the two countries and discussed their further intensification.

Talks Continue

LD301422 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1207 GMT 30 Jul 81

[Text] Copenhagen, 30 Jul (ADN)--The delegation of the SED Central Committee under Politburo member Erich Mueckenberger now visiting Denmark, on Thursday had a talk with officials of the skilled workers' union in Aalborg. In the course of a lively talk possibilities of intensifying the joing struggle for peace were discussed. In the morning the SED delegation was received at the townhall where Lord Mayor Marius Andersen gave an account of the successful development of the partnership with the GDR harbor town of Wismar.

Closing Talks

LD312204 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1730 GMT 31 Jul 81

[Text] Copenhagen, 31 July (ADN)--The delegation of the SED Central Committee, headed by Erich Mueckenberger, member of the Politburo and chairman of the Central Party Control Commission, which is visiting Denmark, had closing talks on Friday with the Danish Communist Party Central Committee. Joergen Jensen, chairman of the Danish Communist Party and Erich Mueckenberger mutually emphasized the usefulness of such direct contacts. They stressed that the relations between both parties, rich in tradition, had been further strengthened and secured by this visit.

Before that, the delegation had been with the workers of the ship's engine factory Burme Ster and Wain, where questions of the joint fight for peace were discussed in lively conversation with workers' functionaries, among them members of the Communist Party.

Delegation Departs

LD011440 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1240 GMT 1 Aug 81

[Text] Copenhagen, 1 Aug (ADN correspondent)--The delegation of the SED Central Committee led by Erich Mueckenberger, member of the Politburo and chairman of the Central Party Control Commission, ended its 5-day visit to Denmark on Saturday and left for home.

At the end of the visit Erich Mueckenber said in an interview with the Communist Party paper LAND OG FOLK that in talks with members of all sections of the population and with representatives of several political parties he gained an insight into the life of the Danish people which contributed to a better understanding of the problems of the working people in the struggle for peace, against unemployment and loss of social security. The close links between decades have been further strengthened, Erich Mueckenberger said.

HONECKER GREETS IRAN'S RAJA'I ON ELECTION

AU312006 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 30 Jul 81 p 1

[ND report: "Telegram to Iran's President: Erich Honecker's Congratulations to Mohammad 'Ali Raja'i on Election"]

[Text] Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, has addressed the following congratulatory telegram to Mohammad 'Ali Raja'i, president of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

On your election to the post of president of the Islamic Republic of Iran I convey to you, Excellency, cordial congratulations on behalf of the GDR State Council and people.

I combine with this the conviction that the relations and cooperation between our two states will also in the future successfully develop for the benefit and well-being of our peoples and in the interest of peace throughout the world.

To you personally, excellency, I wish prosperity, creative vigor and success in your responsible office.

PALESTINIANS CONVEY THANKS FOR SOLIDARITY SHIPMENT

AU311255 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 30 Jul 81 p 2

[Text] berling (ADN)--In a letter to the GDR Solidarity Committee (Fathi Arafat), president of the Palestinian Red Crescent, expressed his thanks for the numerous proofs of solidarity from the GDR. His thanks referred in particular to a 3-ton solidarity consignment which has recently arrived in Beirut and consists of urgently needed medicines, blood plasma and bandaging material. Especially in the present situation of permanent acts of aggression by Israel against the Palestinian people this solidarity donation is of great value, the letter stated. Thus the GDR people prove their solidarity and affinity with the Palestinian people also in this critical situation, (Arafat) stressed in his letter of thanks.

HONECKER, SED GREET SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY

AU311200 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 31 Jul 81 pp 1-2

[Text] Berlin (ND)--The SED Central Committee has sent the following greetings address, signed by General Secretary Erich Honecker, to the chairman and the genral secretary of the South African Communist Party [SACP], Yusef Mohamed Dadoo and Moses Mabhida:

Dear Comrades: On behalf of the SED Central Committee and on my own behalf I convey to you and all South African communists the most cordial congratulations and fraternal militant greetings on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the SACP.

During six decades of the most difficult and sacrificial struggle, as the representative of interests and the vanguard of the workers class and all other suppressed classes and strata of South Africa, the SACP has gained great respect and recognition. It is closely linked with the liberation movement of the South African people, the African National Congress, and has a decisive share in the heroic struggle against imperialist exploitation, against suppression, disfranchisement and apartheid, for freedom and social progress and in the important successes achieved in this struggle.

In the struggle for liberty and independence the South African communists have stood in a row with many other peoples of their continent. In the international communist and workers movement the SACP has always been guided by the principle of proletarian internationalism and has made an important contribution to strengthening its unity and cohesion.

Close relations, based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, and trustful fraternal cooperation, which constantly develops and deepens in the anti-imperialist struggle, have existed between the SED and the SACP for decades.

On the occasion of the 60th anniversary the SED and the entire working people of the GDR reassure the SACP of their deep sympathy and unshakeable solidarity in the just struggle against the peace-threatening, inhumane apartheid regime, for a future of the South African people in freedom, peace and progress.

The SED Central Committee and all communists of the GDR wish the SACP further successes in consolidating its fighting strength and all members of the party health and firm confidence in victory.

RADIO REVIEWS USTINOV ARTICLE, SOVIET POLICY

LD312330 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1725 GMT 29 Jul 81

["Prism" program presented by Gyorgy Bernat with journalist Elemer Csak, Moscow correspondent Ilona Baranyai, APN military affairs reporter Svestoslav Kozlov, Army Lt Col Gyorgy Szentebi and New York correspondent Istvan Kulcsar--recorded: Kozlov's answers in Russian fading into Hungarian translation read by Baranyai]

[Excerpts] [Bernat] Our listeners must surely have noticed that there have been an above-average number of reports on military subjects among our correspondents' reviews of the Soviet press during the past few days. PRAVDA published an article by Marshal Ustinov, minister of defense, and the same paper carried an article by Admiral of the Fleet Gorshkov, commander in chief of the navy. KOMMUNIST, the party periodical, has published a review by Marshal Ogarkov, chief of staff and first deputy minister of defense.

We would like to throw some light on the background to all this in today's program. To start with, why were the articles mentioned earlier published during the past few days? I am now putting this question to Elemer Csak who is here with us in the "Prism" studio.

[Csak] The fact that articles by several Soviet military leaders are printed one after another can be attributed in part to Soviet Navy Day. However, it can also be attributed to the fact that so far it has been mostly the politicians who have stated their views and proposals and offers for talks. We should also bear in mind that soldiers have made statements in the past, and therefore, the fact that the generals have spoken out is not without precedent. If one studies the articles written by the military leaders in a careful way, one realizes that the principles and foreign political objectives outlined in these pieces are in full agreement with the resolutions of the most recent party congress. The only difference is that this time they are phrased from the point of view of the professional soldiers. We should also bear in mind that this is now being done at a time when the United States is putting the emphasis not on negotiations but on military development.

[Bernat] What is the view on this subject in Moscow? This was the way in which the question put by our correspondent, Ilona Baranyai, was answered by Svestoslav Kozlov, the APN military policy correspondent.

[Kozlov] Western propaganda, and American propaganda in particular, devotes much attention to military subjects today. This is understandable because American foreign policy has become very militarized. It asserts the necessity of a policy of strength and the arms buildup. It does not hesitate to justify the further increase in the incredibly large military budget to its own public by falsifying Soviet policies. The present leadership, including Defense Secretary Weinberger, Secretary of State Haig and even President Reagan speak almost daily about the military plans of the United States. Western citizens are not aware of the essence of Soviet policies. This is why it is necessary for them to become acquainted with these policies from the words of influential and credible Soviet military leaders. These current articles explain and prove one after the other that the USSR is fighting for peace and to prevent a nuclear catastrophe that would endanger human civilization. Anyone can get a good picture of what the USSR and the other socialist countries are doing to achieve these objectives simply by reading these articles. When the leaders of the Soviet armed forces tell the truth about Soviet military policies they provide an opportunity at the same time for people to be able to compare these with what the secretary of defense in Washington and other politicians say.

[Bernat] So it appears that the debate now under way in interviews and newspaper articles is to do with the balance of forces and the intention of using force.

The Soviet view--which is shared by the member states of the Warsaw Pact--notes that there is at present a balance of forces between the large military organizations and that upsetting this would have catastrophic consequences. Does this balance really exist? This is the question we put to our military technology expert, Lieut Col Gyoergy Szentesi.

[Szentesi] We hope that there is a balance of forces and we hope that we are at least as strong as the armies of the countries opposing us and that the military strength of the socialist countries equals the military strength of the capitalist countries.

[Bernat] How can this be assessed?

[Szentesi] It is very difficult to assess this. It is very difficult because if I were to make a joke out of it, we are not buying our weapons from the same arms shops. The development of weapons on either side takes place under different conceptions and possibilities and also with the participation of military development technicians who have different talents. Therefore, even weapons made for the same objectives differ from each other in a number of the effects they can produce. This makes it understandable why it should take so long to draft an agreement on arms limitation when the data connected with the effects of weapons on either side are so different. Many things have to be compared.

[Bernat] For instance?

[Szentesi] Well, as an example, the destructive capacity is on its own a fairly concrete fact. However, this destructive potential can only be considered to be of equal strength if the precision of targeting of both weapons are on the same level. Otherwise, in the case of a weapon with a much greater precision of hitting its target even a weapon with a smaller destructive potential can be of greater effectiveness.

[Bernat] So, it cannot be said simply that we have got that many missiles and you have got that number of missiles and therefore there is a balance between the two.

[Szentesi] Unfortunately not, even if their range of effectiveness is the same.

[Bernat] The majority of U.S. politicians justify the weapons development programs by claiming that the military strength of the USSR is greater than the American potential. Istvan Kulcsar, Budapest radio correspondent in New York, now sums up the data published in Washington.

[Kulcsar] According to the American figures--which are published with certain changes in various newspapers--the USSR has a superiority in terms of quantity over the United States in the sphere of land forces. Within this, there is superiority in the numbers of divisions, tanks and artillery. Moreover, it also has a larger number of intercontinental missiles and submarines than its potential enemy. According to the statistics published here, American superiority in terms of quality and quantity applies only to surface ships, primarily to aircraft carriers, and to bomber aircraft. However, even this latter is made doubtful by the obsolescence of the B-52's and their successors can only be deployed in the second half of the 1980's at the earliest.

[Bernat] This is the American view. Is there really such a difference between the two sides?

[Szentesi] Naturally this is the case because one side is stronger in certain aspects and the other in different ones. It is typical that the Americans always bring up the subject of Soviet advances in certain spheres to justify their claim that the USSR has a superiority in military weapons. The truth is that there really are such fields, however, the Americans stay silent over the issue that they are more advanced in a number of respects and in a number of spheres. This difference and this lack of matching everything exactly contribute to the establishment of a global balance.

[Bernat] The summary of American views that we have just listened to pointed out the shift in the balance of forces in concrete areas. According to this view, the USSR enjoys superiority in five spheres and the United States in only two.

[Szentesi] This is a rather onesided view, the goal of which is to justify the American arms development. The fact is that war can be waged in three areas; on land, by sea and in the air. The Americans admit to enjoying a superiority in two of these areas, namely in respect to their navy and air force. There can be no doubt as to the larger size of Soviet land forces as compared to the American Army.

However, this too is not without reason quite apart from the fact of the need to compensate for the Americans' superiority in the two other spheres. Let us just consider that the USSR shares a very long land frontier with China and China has an enormous army at her disposal. This has to be counterbalanced somehow. This army is directed against the USSR and no one else. China is neither a sea nor an air power; therefore, the USSR has the duty to defend Soviet land territory from a potential Chinese expansion. An army of a substantial size has to be maintained in that region.

[Bernat] And that army is tied to the region.

[Szentesi] Indeed, that army can have no other duties and is very difficult to move away from that region.

[Bernat] Let us ask our military technology expert if there has been a change in the basically defensive doctrine.

[Szentsei] We have known for a good many years that Soviet military doctrine is fundamentally a defensive doctrine and there has been no change in that whatsoever. It is built on the hypothesis that the USSR is attacked. Soviet military and political leaders have stressed on more than one occasion that a nuclear war could only begin with a nuclear strike against the USSR. In the event of this happening, the USSR would carry out an appropriate counterstrike.

[Bernat] That is to say, it has at its disposal the offensive weapons with which it can carry this out.

[Szentesi] Absolutely. After all we know very well that SALT itself registers the existence and quantity of these.

[Bernat] And what is the present shape of the American military objectives? Istvan Kulcsar is giving us an answer from New York.

[Kulcsar] The entire foreign political concept of the United States--and in a broader sense, as it is called here, its entire national security concept--is under review. Carter's concept is now being buried while Reagan's has been worked out only in some of its details. The large scale arms buildup, the extremely rapid increase in military expenditures, the deployment of MX intercontinental missiles and of medium range missiles in Europe, the commissioning of new strategic bombers, the reconstruction of surface ships that have been mothballed and the establishment of a rapid deployment force for use in all regions of the world, all these are not being dictated by a new military doctrine. This is the case, at least for the time being. It is possible that the reverse may happen and that a new doctrine will be formulated to justify this unparalleled arms buildup.

It is obvious that certain members of the Reagan administration would like to see the United States achieve a military superiority over the USSR; however, official documents, for the most part, refer only to a "military balance." It is claimed that the USSR has upset this in its own favor and that this is precisely what the rapid pace of the American arms buldup must counterbalance.

[Csak] The objectives of American foreign policy are now best fulfilled if the administration can play the part of the crusader opposing the endeavors of communism for world domination.

The blindness of this policy is now being recognized within the United States as well. [Passage omitted quoting George Ball's recent article]

[Bernat] What can the USSR use, apart from military force, against these preparations? This is what Svetoslav Kozlov, APN commentator, has to say:

[Kozlov] When the comprehensive peace program for the 1980s was announced, we did not divide it up into more or less important proposals or proposals of secondary importance because all issues are awaiting substantive and immediate solutions. Nonetheless, I would mention as the most essential points the proposals made for the prevention of nuclear war, nuclear disarmament and for matters affecting nuclear weapons in Europe. At their talks in the Crimea on 27 July Leonid Brezhnev and Janos Kadar put it this way, namely that the central task of international politics at present is the reduction of tension. The reduction and abolition of the arms race and European security and the problems connected with nuclear weapons on our continent are of primary importance in this.

[Bernat] The concrete Soviet proposals are well known. There has been no favorable response from the other side so far.

[Kulosar] The American leadership simply swept away from the negotiating table the Soviet proposal for the freezing of the deployment of medium range nuclear missiles in Europe for the duration of talks about limiting the number of these missiles. While the United States is prepared to have talks, nonetheless, during these talks and independently of them it is planning to begin the deployment of so-called "theatre missiles" in Western and southern Europe in 1983, unless an agreement is reached by then. The Soviet proposal for the establishment of a nuclear-free zone in northern Europe is described by Washington as a propaganda maneuver. However, it is worried at the same time because it can see that the Soviet proposal has met with general interest and wideranging sympathy in the countries involved.

[Csak] The Soviet leadership is clearly aware of the realities and does not expect to be able to separate the European member countries of NATO from the United States. At the same time, it can see the differences in political interest among the Western countries, is aware of the differences in views over the deployment of the Euromissiles and last but not least, it wants to use the opportunity provided by the fact that the capitalist powers of Western Europe have greater interests in the development of economic relations with the USSR than has the United States.

[Bernat] This leads to another question for the APN analyst. Would you confirm the assumption that although the detente policy of the USSR is unified, nonetheless, it still has separate American and West European policies?

[Kozlov] In its international relations, the USSR persues a policy that approaches each country in an individual way without any attempt to impose an unjustified uniformity. As to NATO, we know that we are dealing with a group of countries bound together by a common political platform. The fundamental traits of the policies of these countries are shaped in Washington and in the other particularly influential countries of the community and attempts are made to ensure that the member states represent the views in all issues that are most favorable to those who shape the policies, thereby creating a semblance of unity.

The Americans' allies are aware, however, that the interests of the United States are not always identical with their own national interests. Washington and its leading allies, including first and foremost Bonn, can achieve a superficial appearance of unity as, for example, in the case of the deployment of Euromissiles. At the same time, the FRG and other member states do not want to sacrifice their mutually advantageous economic and commercial relations with the USSR on the altar of Atlantic unity. It would be difficult to say to what extent individual NATO countries can defend their independence: After all, great pressure is being brought to bear on them from Washington.

At the same time, they know that as long as it is trade and not war that is in the forefront, the practice of peaceful coexistence can be safeguarded and conditions favorable to real disarmament might be created, this being the only way in which true security can be established.

[Bernat] The so-called "gas deal" is one of the most recent reasons for this, according to which the USSR would supply a part of Western Europe's natural gas requirements. This would also involve the construction, at a cost of 10 billion DM, of a gas pipeline over a length of 5,000 km, from Siberia to Western Europe. To give just two figures, the USSR will supply 30 percent of all gas consumed in the FRG and this amounts to 5.5 percent of West Germany's total energy consumption. But what happens if the gas taps are turned off in the USSR. At last week's summit of the seven major capitalist countries in Ottawa, Reagan put it this way, that is that he would not recommend the gas deal because it would make Western Europe dependent on the USSR.

[Csak] The gas taps would only be turned off in the event of a military conflict in which case these pipelines would be destroyed. But let us follow through the consequences in a less extreme situation. The American warnings about the danger of dependence have no real foundations according to the majority of observers. The suspension of gas deliveries would affect not the chemical industry but the households of Western Europe. The USSR could hardly accept the unpopularity of such a measure. Moreover, experts have calculated that the maintenance and preservation of the pipelines that have been cut off would cost enormous sums which would be an unnecessary burden for the Soviet budget. Finally--although one could go on--Western Europe, too, has at its disposal economic sanctions, the deployment of which would cause problems in the life of the USSR and the other socialist countries.

[Bernat] Let us stay with the gas deal for a moment. The other appliances of the pipeline are also supplied by the West and so these can operate only if cooperation is smooth. And another reason, which the supporters of the deal say, both sides regard this agreement as a local, though European, touchstone of economic cooperation and in a wider sense, of the desire for detente. And although Helmut Schmidt rejected the American demands and took a stand in favor of the gas deal, this does not mean the restoration of the earlier phase of detente. With this in mind, too, I am now asking the last question. Who are these military articles addressed to through the pages of the Soviet press?

[Csak] I believe they are addressed, first and foremost to the domestic Soviet public. In this respect Marshal Ogarkov notes in his article that two new generations have grown up in the USSR over the last 36 years and these generations very often are not aware of the danger of war and consider all kinds of peace to be good. Consequently, their vigilance may diminish and they may be more inclined to become complacent. However, the various articles and interviews are addressed to the West European public as well and their objective is to oppose the propaganda campaign about the alleged "Soviet threat" with arguments and with the views of influential politicians and soldiers. Naturally, if an article is published in PRAVDA, the official organ of the CPSU, or in KOMMUNIST the theoritical and political journal of the Soviet Party, that amounts to a statement that the Western governments can regard without any doubt as the opinion of the Soviet leadership.

GYORI-HEADED PARTY DELEGATION RETURNS FROM MADRID

LD021812 Budapest MTI in English 1706 GMT 2 Aug 81

[Text] Budapest, 2 Aug (MTI)--The delegation of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party which attended the 10th Congress of the Spanish Communist Party, returned to Budapest from Madrid on Sunday. The delegation was headed by Imre Gyori, member of the HSWP CC and head of the CC Agitation and Propaganda Department, and included Gyula Horn, deputy head of the CC Foreign Department.

PZPR POLITBURO MEETS TO DISCUSS CURRENT SITUATION

LD012028 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1900 GMT 1 Aug 81

[Text] A meeting of the party Central Committee Politburo was held in warsaw today to discuss the implementation of the program of the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress. The current socioeconomic situation in the country was also analyzed.

Insufficient market supplies caused by very low procurement of agricultural produce and the temporary reduction of meat rations serve to create tnesions, which have become dangerous, and threaten the explosion of conflict on a national scale. Strike announcements and particularly street demonstrations are creating a great threat to the country. The atmosphere is being used by some branches of Solidarity to undermine the political line of the ninth congress of the party. Statements about the specter of hunger in Poland are being spread. There is no threat of hunger in Poland: Forecasts for the cereal and fodder harvest are good.

Furthermore, misunderstandings concerning price changes, which have been the subject of consultation and which will undergo modifications during discussion, are creating tension. Price changes linked with compensation cannot be postponed until the introduction of economic reform, since they are indispensable and a most important component of the reform. The economy has no reserves. There are no full warehouses or hidden food stocks. We will have as much as we can produce ourselves and as much as we can gather from our fields.

The Politburo approved government plans concerning measures for the stabilization and improvement of the socioeconomic situation, including efforts to increase market and export production and the extraction of raw meterials as well as universal steps to ensure the gathering of this year's crops, their proper processing and storing and particularly to ensure improvement in the supply of indispensable commodities. Steps will be taken to ensure the delivery of goods for children.

The responsibility for the improvement of the situation rests with all economic organizations and social forces, including trade unions.

To multiply demands and exert further pressure on wages and social benefits in the present circumstances without an active attitude of the trade unions towards the issue of expanding production can only lead to further disoragnization of the national economy.

The Politburo also approved government plans concerning decisive counteraction against the phenomena of social disarray and speculation which are demoralizing and exhausting the country.

The Politburo decided to convene in the coming days a session of the Central Committee devoted to the present socioeconomic situation in the country.

JARUZELSKI CHAIRS 2 AUG MILITARY COUNCIL MEETING

LD021914 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1900 GMT 2 Aug 81

[Text] A sessoin of the Military Council of the Ministry of National Defense was held today, chaired by Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, chairman of the Council of Ministers. The meeting was held in connection with the worsening disadvantageous and dangerous phenomena in the internal situation of the country.

Against this background actions ensuring the requirea level of defense capability [obronnosc] and the seucrity of Poland were discussed. Tasks were also mapped out for the Armed Forces' activity, which includes their participation in the work for the national economy, as well as combating speculation and other destructive social phenomena.

JARUZELSKI CHAIRS GOVERNMENT PRESIDIUM SESSION

LD022348 Warsaw PAP in Russian 2100 GMT 2 Aug 81

[Text] A session of the Government Presidium took place [word indistinct] under the chairmanship of Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, chairman of the Council of Ministers. Also participating in the session were Marian Wozniak, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, the prosecutor general, the chief of the General Staff of the Polish Army and the secretary of the Committee for the Defense of the Country.

The Government Presidium assessed the present socioeconomic situation, discussed the conclusions arising from it and adopted a decision on the current activities of the government.

The government intends to consistently implement the activities which were outlined by Jaruzelski at the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress and in the government program [words indistinct] from the crisis and for stabilizing the economy, that was endorsed by the Sejm on 31 July [words indistinct]. It also intends to take every action in accordance with the Sejm's decision to eliminate all spontaneous phenomena that disrupt production and the market supply and that undermine the functioning of the state, leading to chaos and anarchy.

It was stated that the only way to improve the situation would be to increase production, to utilize the economic potential, to raise the level of public discipline and to introduce as soon as possible the princi· les of economic reform, including new principles governing the self-management activities of enterprises and the beginning of the process for changing retail and wholesale prices. It is of vital importance to organize an all-national effort, directed at leading the country out of its crisis through its own strength, in keeping with the best interests of the people.

The government has been and is doing everything possible to create the necessary conditions in its cooperation with the working people.

Anyone who is trying to use public dissatisfaction for unfounded pressure on the authorities, who is complicating the implementation of actions undertaken by the government for satisfying current basic needs at this most critical time--between now and the new harvest--and who is putting forward provocative slogans, who is encouraging demonstrations instead of self-discipline, labor and calm, is pushing the country toward catastrophe and misfortune.

The Government Presidium has decided to adopt a number of urgent measures to eliminate or lessen negative phenomena.

The Government Presidium has charged the corresponding ministries and trade organizations with accelerating their activity for improving supplies of [word indistinct]. The government has adopted special measures for securing effective harvesting. Today, efforts will be concentrated on procuring, processing and storing agricultural products. The government is counting on the timely and complete fulfillment by farmers of agreements on the sale of goods for supplying the population.

Further actions will be undertaken for improving the supply of food and industrial goods subject to the ration system. Transportation of goods in high demand will be controlled and [words indistinct].

Work will be started by plenipotentiary government representatives who will deal with matters of food distribution, and, in particular, control supplies and the struggle against abuses; that is, they will look after the fulfillment of nationwide tasks in the sphere of supply and just distribution of essential goods.

The Government Presidium has decreed that emergency measures in the struggle against speculation and the resale of essential goods should be taken.

The chairman of the Council of Ministers has made it incumbent upon militia organs, the State Chamber of Commerce, controlling and auditing inspectorates and special control brigades reinforced by participating troops, to conduct a wide ranging and merciless struggle against speculation.

The voivodas receive the right to set market prices and sellers will be obliged to observe these unconditionally.

It is intended to set up an emergency commission to fight speculation, with corresponding local organs, with the aim of effectively protecting the market and consumers' interests. The government counts on the broad cooperation of public control organs, of all citizens in the struggle against speculators and against those who make a profit from supply difficulties.

The Government Presidium has charged the relevant ministries with carrying out actions to systematize the supply of gasoline to the population, the functioning of transportation, including public transportation, and to ensure observation of the principles of maximum economy in the use of coal, fuel and other types of raw materials in short supply.

In connection with the substantial reduction in coal extraction the ministries are working out and implementing plans for halting production at energy intensive enterprises with the aim of satisfying the demands of branches of industry producing market goods and of public service sectors. The communal services must prepare the towns for the winter period.

The government is counting on the support of the population in its activity to reestablish discipline and ensure the observance of public order. Measures in the struggle against parasites and idlers will be sharpened.

The extraordinary actions of the Government Presidium aimed at halting the exacerbation of the situation in the country must be closely linked with the future actions mapped out in the program of stabilization and with the efforts aimed at improving the work of the raw materials industry, and first and foremost the work of increasing coal extraction, guaranteeing raw materials for enterprises producing output for the market, halting the decline in exports and obtaining money for essential imports.

For a number of months now, the chairman of the Council of Ministers said, the government has been undertaking extraordinary actions to halt the crisis and stabilize the position in the country. These efforts have not brought the expected results.

The government received an assurance that a reduction in working time would be compensated by a growth in labor productivity. In reality labor productivity has fallen sharply and material production has dropped. As a result supplies to the market have dropped and exports have collapsed.

The sharp fall in coal extraction has caused particularly adverse phenomena in the national economy and in foreign trade.

We were assured that if the material incentives for the miners working on work-free Saturdays were abolished then there would be not a reduction but an increase in coal extraction. So the incentives were abolished. Coal extraction on work-free Saturdays immediately fell from 300,000 tons to 100,000 tons. The government's appeals for the production capacities to be used at refineries and raw-material enterprises and for a 6-day production week to be introduced while maintaining the 5-day working week in the majority of cases went unheeded.

The government received an assurance that the formation of self-governing trade union organizations in the rural areas would improve the food supplies to the towns. In fact there was a sharp reduction in food supplies. Procurement of meat in June fell by 30 percent, and in July by 35 percent. The shortage of meat necessary to satisfy demand within the framework of the regulations, cannot in such a situation be met by imports, to which all availabel currency reserves are assigned. This year's grain harvest supplies are also inadequate as yet. At the same time the proportion of foodstuffs, including meat, on the free market is also increasing at disproportionately high prices.

The government is accused of delay in introducing the principles of economic reform. Work in this field with the participation of the leading scientific authorities is being carried out extremely intesively. Moreover, 3 months ago the government published draft laws about the enterprises and about self-government and sent them to the trade unions for consultation. Unfortunately it received no reply. When the draft laws were submitted to the Sejm protest action was initiated and other theses were put forward which did not accord with the principles of socialist nationwide ownership of the means of production, and so the coordinated preparation and subsequent ratification of the drafts by the Sejm was therefore delayed.

Today, immediately following the Ninth PZPR Extraordinary Congress, at which a program was adopted to lead the country out of the crisis, and conditions were created for the efforts of the entire people to be concentrated around this, and unprecedented protest action is being conducted, threatening the state and people with unforseen consequences. The government regards it as its duty to caution against the organization of actions which increase dissatisfaction and make it more difficult to resolve problems upon which the people's living standards depend.

The Polish Sejm unanimously approved the program for a solution to the crisis and the stabilization of the national economy. In the resolution adopted it instructed the government to implement this program energetically and charged the entire people and all workers and their organizations to cooperate with the government in this.

The government, W. Jaruzelski declared, will carry out this program consistently. The government expects the working people to show the authorities their support and to undertake with them actions to bring the country out of the crisis and to eliminate the threat hanging over the peace of mind of every family and over the feeling of security and confidence in tomorrow.

'Fight Against Speculation'

LD020006 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 1 Aug 81

[Excerpt] At a recent session of the Government Presidium, it was stated that the evolution of the crisis in the country is reaching a dramatic point. Street demonstrations are creating a particular threat. Avoiding the danger which such events might entail constitutes a vital patriotic task of the people's authorities and of all Poles. The government intends in this situation to consistently implement the measures which were presented by the premier at the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress and which are also contained in the government program approved by the Sejm on 31 July for overcoming the crisis and for stabilizing the economy. In accordance with the resolution of the Sejm, the government also intends to take every form of action with the aim of putting a stop to basic phenomena which disorganize production and market supplies and which undermine the functioning of the state and lead to chaos and anarchy.

It was stated that the growth of production, the utilization of the potential of the economy, the heightening of social discipline, and a national effort to extricate the country from the crisis using its own resources in line with the interest of the community represent the only way to improve the situation. The government will do everything possible to create suitable conditions for cooperation with working people.

In the sphere of emergency activities, the Government Presidium made it incumbent on all the ministries and trade organizations to intensify efforts to improve the supply of the market by increasing and making more efficient the procurement of agricultural resources for the production of prime commodities and maximizing utilization of the production potential and of agricultural and food processing in order to make full use of this year's harvest. Further action will be taken to improve the distribution of food and industrial goods covered by the rationing system. Trade organizations and supply organizations, including cooperatives, were put under obligation to eliminate without delay any deficiencies and failings existing in this area.

In connection with the growing speculation in foodstuffs, the Sejm stated in the adopted resolution that it expects the government to make the fight against this plight more severe and authorized the government to take all the necessary steps in this direction. The Government Presidium will use extraordinary means in the fight against speculation and illegal procurement of basic commodities. With this in mind, the chairman of the Council of Ministers has made it incumbent on the organs of the Citizens' Militia and of the state trade inspection and control inspectorates and on temporary checking brigades which have been strengthened by the participation of soldiers, to rigorously imply the legal means to which they have a right in cases of discovery of the sale of goods at speculative prices. The sale outside of the trade net of articles produced within the state monopoly will be prohibited. The charging of excessive prices for foodstuffs purchased from farmers with the aim of a further resale will be punished. We will fight against resales at prices higher than those established by the state of articles bought in shops and produced by socialized enterprises. The setting up of an extraordinary commission to fight speculation is envisaged. The government is counting on the broad cooperation of the community with the organs of social control in the fight against speculation.

FURTHER REPORTAGE ON 31 JULY SEJM SESSION

Madej Sejm Speech

LD311330 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0844 GMT 31 Jul 81

[Speech by Zvigniew Madej, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the Planning Commission, at the Sejm session in Warsaw--live]

[Text] May it please the house. The debate lasting many weeks on the package of issues, which attracted the attention of all the country and which were also the focus of world opinion, is coming to an end. The discussion at the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress recently concentrated on those issues and let us hope, as the citizen deputies stressed, that on them will now be concentrated the work of industrial enterprises in the second half of 1981 and at least in the whole 3 years which remain for us to lead the country out of the crisis. On those issues our friends, the socialist countries, also concentrated their attention, asking us what are our chances for extricating the country on our own. On those issues also world banks, both private and national, are constantly hovering in order to be certain that there is still a chance to grant our country a loan in order that we may emerge from the crisis.

Also of immense significance not only nationally but internationally is the version which is being discussed at present, a version which, as citizen deputies have stressed, gained universal approval and which is the result of intense activities, of well-wishing criticism of citizen deputies, and of numerous proposals made already in the first version of the program for extricating the country from the crisis. As a result of such criticism the program has been created, a program which we all believe will in the final analysis meet with approval also outside the Sejm hall.

By now many suggestions have been noted as well as certain methods of work which have been generated in the past weeks.

It is as a result of the citizen deputies' proposals that we set up groups of experts who worked on the report on the state of the economy and on the program for overcoming the crisis. And we carried this out as a formal, firm way of steering economic activities. At that time, attached to the Planning Commission, a council of experts was set up, chaired by Professor Bobrowski, precisely on the basis of the proposals and experiences accumulated while preparing those two important documents. At that time a group of experts was created in the Commission for the Economic Plan, Budget and Finances which deals with the country's balance of payments. Thus a new style of governing emerged which has now become a fact.

The program for extricating the country from the crisis was from the outset intended to be an integral program which would contain the aspect of creating and distributing the national income. We very strongly stressed the need to create, above all, raw materials including coal and agricultural raw materials. We were convinced that without this all the intense efforts to resolve the question of housing, to resolve the question of living standards and the problem of the protection of natural environment, will not achieve much. In our country the view is becoming universal to the effect that no government, in no goegraphical latitude, including the government of a socialist state, no one has ever given anyone anything without taking something first.

This also relates to the program which we are discussing at this moment. Let us take a step forward in relation to this principle. I would like to meet halfway the thesis, submitted by Deputy Rafalski at the beginning of the debate on 2 July, on the need to fill the gap between the sphere of creating and that of distributing the national income; to create a bridge between material production and expenditure on culture, science, health and housing.

How are we to do this? Of course, the possibility exists for making from this a guideline for action on condition that we take into consideration the (?time) factor. Whatever we might say about the gravity of these matters concerning the protection both of the environment and of culture, let us bear in mind that first it is necessary to produce. Such a philosophy is contained in the program for emerging from the crisis. We note that this philosophy which has recently been shaped is an achievement in the system of management. [Words indistinct] from this rostrum, on the one hand, guidelines came in order to base the economic activity in the country on principles of independence and self-management of enterprises. On the other hand, three were proposals to steer directly the activity of all important sections of economic life. The government is supposed to be strong, decisive, and to apply all the means which serve a given goal. The two different trends, two different concepts, like water and fire, clashed. This caused a dichotomy of thought and actions in different directions by different social groups.

As a result of this, elements of invective and hullabaloo crept in, which must inevitably occur if the government and central authorities attempt to guarantee at all times cigarette papers, nails in the parish cooperative shop, and every single work norm in the production enterprise. Given such a philosophy for managing the state, the prerequisites for hullabaloo are going to be born, whether we like it or not.

I am not convinced that this is the best philosophy. Rather, another philosophy has been born. As a result of proposals, something emerges which might be called a broad platform. The element of self-financing and self-government is becoming more widespread, distributed in a thick layer over our economy. All works enterprises are to be guided by this; above all, those enterprises which have entered the new system, working from the middle of 1981 in accordance with this system. There will be an era of small scale production. And this is why special priority has been given to some select sections which are contributing, sections which determine the nation's everyday life such as staple food elements, medicines, toiletries and exports.

These matters can be managed centrally, and the population is aware of such solutions. It is illogical and it is not something irreconcilable; in the socialist system as well as other systems, it has been tried.

It has already come up and (?in recent weeks) it has been accepted by us as a philosophy of management starting with the second half of 1981. We pay much attention in the program to international cooperation in our economy, primarily with the socialist countries. We are counting on broadening this cooperation on the principles of traditional goods exchange and cooperation, including use of our partially made investments which are available. I recently had talks with the chairman of the Planning Commission of the Soviet Union, with whom I discussed the strategic directions of our country's development for the coming years as well as today's situation. We will tighten cooperation. At the same time, we must remember the broad goods exchange with the capitalist countries, although, after all, the more than $25 billion debts must be paid (?today).

We are devoting a good deal of attention to the issue of housing construction. Once again, Deputy Kukuryka brought the issue to mind as an immensely important one. I am in full sympathy with his suggestions and I would like to say that the program's task for getting out of the crisis is not necessarily to stablize the number of apartments at 150,000. We assume that the task of the program, which delineates the general framework and allows the enterprises to do what they ought to do, will permit the construction companies to build the maximum number of apartments within the means allocated for that purpose, which consume about one third of investment outlays. We accept the same principle in general: namely, let us maximize the targets that face us within the available means. I am in full sympathy with Deputy Kukuryka's proposal approach.

So, let us immediately introduce an amendment to the program: Let the construction companies try to achieve as much as they can from 30 percent of investment outlays for construction. There are already attempts to realize this. If we look at housing construction outlays, in relation to last year, we see a 107-110 percent increase; while as we know the entire industrial production shows a drop as does national income. This is therefore a preference from the outlay side.

Let us try again to make a preference on the side of the effects achieved from this.

An immensely important and painful issue is market difficulties. The Sejm commisson has raised this matter as one of the significant ones against the background of the amendment of the plan for 1981. We are all painfully affected by the events which have recently arisen against this background in Lodz, Piotrkow and other towns. This is a painful thing.

I received the resolution of NSZZ Solidarity of Mazowsze region yesterday, in which it is also suggested that the government present a program for feeding the nation, for improving the situation regarding food and food supplies above all, medical supplies, and protective clothing in production plants. This has been the government's concern for many months. The reaction to this further on in the resolution is as follows: If the supply difficulties continue, the main board of the Mazowsze region will proclaim a strike alert in the region (?as of) 3 August from 1000 hours. On 3 August, in the morning the State Motor Transportation (PKS) enterprises, Municipal Transportation Plants (MZK), TRANSBUD and Municipal Sanitation Enterprises (MPO) will organize a protest car parade in Warsaw city center. On 5 August, from 1000 hours to 1200 hours, all organizations of the region, (?with some exceptions), will organize a 2-hour protest strike.

The protest, the strike, has in recent days been a new form of solving market difficulties. Dear people, where will this lead? As a result of striking, will there be more bread and meat? Nation, let us come to our senses, for this is really not the way to settle the matter. Where is the genuine way out of the situation? If those strikes and marches, which are directed through the towns, were at least partially directed toward farm production, if they were at least partially directed toward agricultural processing, would that not be a better way? Let us think about that. That still remains.

Deputy Drozdz said yesterday that the countryside is waiting, not for more programs, but for means of production for agriculture. This is a slogan which affects the entire economy. This has been stressed today as well. It is a sign of the times. Only 6 weeks ago, the program was the number one catchword.

Today deeds are the number one catchword. The government has subscribed to this new slogan. The government has already carried out a transfer of means within the framework of the amendment of the 1981 plan in line with suggestions made during the Sejm deliberations. The government has worked out operational programs for all priority subjects which were listed here.

The government has worked out a program with a procedure plan for implementing all those main tasks which arise from the implementation program. The government currently places all its efforts onto the stage of work and fully takes up the suggestions made here. As we move from programs to implementation, from constructing future projects to actions, our role as citizens, the role of enterprises as the lowest economic cells, increases; and enterprise, initiative and human ingeniousness begin to play an increasingly greater part.

Czeszejko-Sochacki Report

LD311618 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0911 GMT 31 Jul 81

[Report of the Commissions for Internal Affairs and the Administration of Justice and for Legislative Work on the government bill concerning the control of publications and public performances, delivered by Deputy Zdzislaw Czeszejko-Sochacki at the Sejm session in Warsaw--live]

[Text] May it please the house. The bill which is being examined today is among the most important legal acts from the social view point. This bill, though it speaks of the control of publications and public performances, in fact aims at consolidating civic liberties and freedom. This bill, while determining departures from principle, aims all the more strongly at expressing the constitutional principle of the freedom of speech and the printed word, and at providing an even firmer assurance of its real functioning. The bill submitted to the Sejm justifies the need for reflection, both in general terms and in detail: in general terms, in order to describe the origins, motives and social objectives of the measure; and in detail, in order to study to what extent the form and content of this bill correspond to the general tenets which have been adopted.

In the presentation of such an essential legal act it is not enough to give a cool, matter-of-fact account of its content. What is necessary is to realize the role which this act plays in the protection of fundamental interests and assets and in the development of the idea of the socialist state. Today it would be a truism to state that the civic liberty to express views and convictions is one of the most precious values and that every attempt at limiting this liberty is felt extremely keenly by society. This interpretation and feeling have been registered in our most recent history.

Among the problems and demands which in the memorable days of August 1980 were raised by the workers' movement of the renewal there was also the need for a new legal determination of the scope and principles of the functioning of the control over publications and public spectacles, in accordance with the spirit of social developments, as well with the democratic changes within the society.

This is why this bill has been surrounded by a climate of exceptionally strong social involvement. It included nearly 600 letters addressed to the Sejm, hundreds of publications in the press, numerous radio and television programs, hundreds of various meetings, and also long and laborious sessions of the working teams which included not only administrative personnel but also public leaders.

At this point sincere gratitude and appreciation should be expressed with regard to those public leaders who were prompted not by their professional duty but by their warm concern for the destiny and shape of our country to participate in the work on this bill, public leaders whose ideas inspired and whose work enriched the elaboration of the bill. Such warm gratitude should be addressed, in particular, to the Consultative Committee Commission of NSZZ Solidarity, Industrial Branch and Autonomous Trade Unions, the Polish Teachers' Union, the Association of Polish Journalists, Sejm deputies from the Commission for Culture and Art who participated in the work on the measure, as well as a large body of experts. Because of the role played by the representatives of these organizations and their personal often fervent commitment to the cause, the discussion, though not free of controversy, was always businesslike and constructive.

Through this joint work and the variety of solutions provided, the government's bill has also become a social proposal for a new law. Yet out of the work on the bill concerning control over publications and public performances there emerged conclusions which go far beyond the scope of the bill itself. These conclusions can be summed up as follows:

First, our society contains an enormous intellectual capital. It can be constructively utilized, however, when citizens engaged in joint public action see an opportunity to exercise genuine influence on the shape of laws.

Second, the variety of solutions in the bill, which was reflected both in the indication of different views and in the presentation of arguments, constitutes a valuable form which encouraged independent examination of the issues involved and a more comprehensive analysis and also results in a situation in which a better decision can be made.

It seems that these experiences should be used in further legislative activities and should become an essential element in providing a broad social basis for the work of state bodies and in enhancing their sensitivity to the feeling and opinions of the public, thus ensuring a greater effectiveness of legal acts.

May it please the house. Censorhsip as a system of state control has not been questioned in principle. There have been no reservations, either, as regards the model of preventive censorship control now in force. In the light of the accords reached in Gdansk, Szczecin and Jastrzebi, however, material criticisms were drawn by the scope, methods and forms of the functioning of the system. In accordance with these demands the basic cause and grounds for the intervention of the censor were to derive only from the needs of protecting state interests.

When, in accordance with the accords and with the expectations of the public, the effort of creating a bill meeting these public needs is being undertaken, it must also be stressed that what is involved here is a definition, in legal terms, of censorship as a system of the control of the state over publications and public performances and this particular issue must not be identified with the political assessment of the functioning of mass information media. A legal system of regulations, which involves the use of specific bans and orders, aims at protecting strictly defined interests formulated in the bill. This is the interpretation. Therefore, state censorship, while examining the extent to which a given publication or public performance conforms to the law, carries out a legal check of the formulations of this kind without, however, undertaking a political appraisal of the expediency of the selection of forms and means of informative and publicist nature. It seems that this statement is necessary because in practice, censorship was burdened in the past not only with its own sins of excessive and punctilious intervention but also with the shortcomings of the policy regarding propaganda and information.

Citizen Deputies, we wish to restore to socialist democracy, as a form of effecting authority, its most humanist sense, its role of serving the public. Yet, if this is so, we must realize that just as man needs air if he is to live, authority requires genuine public criticism. This genuine public criticism has not always been welcome.

In the past period only too often criticisms of this kind disturbed the notions of reality held by those who made decisions--and were diametrically opposed to truth--and they clashed with their complacency. The results of this state of affairs, of this relationship, manifested themselves in a dramatic manner in the summer of 1980. Mistakes of this kind must never be repeated. Government under such conditions, under conditions involving public criticisms, is far from easy but it has a more lasting character; it is more resilient to shocks because it is based on the participation of citizens in the administration of the whole nation's affairs. The draft bill is a legal expression of the concern for ensuring conditions in which the freedom of speech and the printed work can develop as fully as possible and in as wide a sense as possible. After all, freedom is not an abstract; it is not an empty notion. It is filled always with those aspects of public life which define man's place in the contemporary world and determine his participation in the life of the community. The political freedom respected in every democratic state, including freedom of speech and the printed word, has its limiting conditions. These limiting conditions derive from the needs and interests of the community, from the necessity to achieve a harmonious combination between what an individual may do and what concerns and threatens the whole of society.

The Constitution of the French Republic of 24 June 1793 proclaimed openly that "freedom amounts to man's ability to do everything that does not harm the rights of others." Complex, present-day life creates many difficulties in the harmonious reconciliation of interests of the individual and the community. But for this very reason all the greater should be the concern for creation of legal norms showing maximum care for respect for personal rights and liberties, norms which will reduce necessary intervention--intervention dictated by the interest of the community--to truly indispensable dimensions. This concerns, in particular, such an important field of man's spiritual life as freedom of speech and the written word. The great English humanist and poet of the 17th century, John Milton, in his letters addressed to the Parliament and devoted to freedom of the printed word, argued that killing a man meant killing his reasonable being, but to oppress and destroy a book meant killing reason itself. The search for a proper legal formula is not an easy task because that which is at stake is endowing the meaning of freedom of speech and the printed word with a content that will ensure this freedom, providing a sensible guarantee for the rights of the individual, in harmonious balance with the fundamental interests of the community as a whole, so that censorship, as an instrument of law, will act only in the event of a threat to community interests.

The long discussion during work by the Sejm on a draft bill has finally led to abandonment of the attempt to define the essence of freedom of speech and the printed word. But this does not at all mean that there can be any ambiguity on this scope, or that a definition of this kind is impossible. It is worthwhile to refer, on this point, to Article 19 of the international treaty on political and civil rights, which declares the right of each person to free expression of opinion. This right covers the freedom of research and of receiving and propagating every kind of information and opinion, regardless of state borders, by word of mouth, in writing or in print, in the form of a work of art or in any other manner, according to one's own discretion. This universal principle is a valuable achievement by contemporary political thought and constitutes a precious and valuable contribution by Polish science, helpful in comprehending the motion of freedom of speech and the printed word.

Paragraph 1 of Article 1 of the draft bill places in the forefront the constitutional principle of safeguarding freedom of speech and the printed word, but at the same time, in paragraph 3, it is stated that enjoyment of freedom of speech and the printed word in publications and public performances is regulated by the present bill. The constitutional injunction of safeguarding freedom of speech and the printed word therefore requires definition of material and legal guarantees and the conditions of functioning by the censor's control; that is, regulation in such a way that it will correspond to the objectives and ideas of our socialist state, and through such interpretation so that intervention by the censor will be occasioned only by the requirements to protect the fundamental interests of the state and society.

Such a presentation of the issue brings to the fore the definition of these protected social interests, which the draft bill achieves in the 10 points of Article 2. The interests of the state and the intersts of the public, clearly specified here, cease to be an enigma and give no opportunity for arbitrariness by the censor, which can occur while there still is in force the binding decree of July 1946 on setting up the main office for control of press, publications and public performances, alone with alternations that have been introduced since that date.

May it please the house. While describing the draft bill in its main features, it is necessary to draw attention to the lengthy--it covers as many as 22 points--catalogue of exclusions from the initial censorship. It is necessary to draw attention to the introduction of control of judicial courts over the decisions of censorship authorities, to the open character of the proceedings, to the very restricted scope of the delegation of authority, envisaged by the bill, as well as to the specific position of the main office of censorship.

Going over to discussion of specific solutions which have been adopted in the government's draft in the wording submitted by the Sejm commissions, it is necessary to point out that:

First: On the assumption that what is not clearly prohibited by the bill can be published and propagated the main emphasis in the draft has been placed on maximum precision in specifying the criteria of censorship. Among the criteria defined in Article 2, two prohibitions require more detailed explanation, namely, 1: incitement to overturn, insult, mock or degrade the constitutional system of the Polish People's Republic; this was included in point No 2 of Article 2; and 2: taking aim at the constitutional principles of the foreign policy of the Polish People's Republic and its alliances; this was reflected in point No 3 of Article 2. These criteria, elaborated in the course of discussions in the Sejm, discussions which took place with the participation of a large number of public leaders and experts, seem to convey in the vest and fullest way the intentions of the legislators. For us Poles, citizens and inhabitants of this country, there are values of the highest level, closely linked with the independence of our state, connected with social justice and with the place we occupy in the present-day world, as well as with our national dignity, opening as widely as possible the opportunities for genuine, widespread and incisive criticism, stimulating the freedom of expressing one's views and convictions. One must not, however, fail to indicate the limits dictated by the interests of the whole nation and imposed by the interests of the state as a whole. It seems that this is how this whole issue should be envisaged and how it should be regarded, because a bilaterally clear presentation of the matter, clearly specifying what citizens have the right to expect from the state, as well as what the state, in its turn, has the right to expect from its citizens, is, from the social point of view, necessary, justified and understandable.

May it please the house, considerable confusion regarding forms of publication exists at present. The absence of a press law, in view of the abolition of such a law dating back to 1938, and also the dynamic character of changes, including those in the publications sector, which have occurred since August 1980, bring about a situation in which, at this moment, there is an absence of tangible boundaries and criteria distinguishing information newsheets from leaflets and those, too, in their turn, from newspapers and periodicals. It is difficult to not agree with the statement that the origins of this phenomenon lie in the fact that the excessive constrictions imposed in the previous period upon publications have brought about a reaction finding its expression in the search for forms which would achieve an attenuation of the censor's intervention if one does not bluntly call this reaction an attempt at bypassing clearly expressed bans imposed by the censor.

The trade union publications which appeared after August 1980 came to life in a spontaneous manner, they themselves determined their form, scope and character.

Unfortunately, not infrequently there continued to appear publications which were divorced from the objectives and tasks of the trade union press. They did not respect the limits defined by our paramount reasons of statehood. Sometimes, let us be frank, these publications were directly aimed at the vital interests of our state. The name of "leaflet" came to be given to forms of publications, the character of which differed very considerably. There were both publications that were informative in nature, truly informative in nature, as well as the (?sensational) in nature. The new press law, which in the version of the proposed resolution is to be introduced within a period of not more than 6 months, should be capable of performing the necessary function of putting matters in order and providing definitions with proper content, with social meaning.

But even now, anticipating work of this kind, it is necessary to devote a few words to explanation of concepts which the bill on control of publications and public performances uses. A widespread discussion, combined with the attempt to find new definitions of greater precision, has been brought about in the work of the Sejm by the demand of excluding newssheets from censorship. This demand was submitted in its public-based version. After a thorough discussion, the Sejm commissions propose the exclusion from control of initial censorship of newssheets, the conceptual scope of which has been specified in point No 11 of Article 4 in the following way: newssheets containing information, including opinions on matters concerning statutory action.

The activities of political, public and trade union organizations are based on statutes. As the state, through bodies indicated in legal acts, accepts the form of activities expressed in the statutes, such activities cannot encounter difficulties in the field of publications and public performances either, because this is one of the forms in which the tasks of these organizations are carried out. In creating conditions for implementation of statutory tasks, one must not, however, lose sight of the paramount reasons and interests of the state, which the aforementioned statutory activities are to serve and whose safeguarding in publications and public preformances is the task of the state censorship. In the interpretation of the draft bill, a newssheet is not an ordinary transmitter of information and the previously quoted text of point No 11 takes into account the fact that each transmission of information contains the views and the stance of the authors of the transmission; therefore, it constitutes a form of expressing one's own opinion.

Public action taking the form, among other things, of transmitting the opinions of specific communities is socially necessary and desirable. What matters, however, is that the manner of expressing these opinions be contained within the framework of the statutory activities relevant to the organization in question. Use of the name "newssheet" with regard to publications which go beyond the informative and opinion-supplying aspects of journalism, characteristic of newspapers and periodicals, and reveal disagreement between the form and substance of such a publication, constitutes the blurring of socially comprehensible frontiers between various forms of publications with the resultant consequences with respect to the application of censorship.

May it please the house, law must apply in a uniform manner toward everyone, and any immunities, especially subjective ones, have shown their adverse nature in the past. Excluding from initial censorship the newssheets referred to in point No 11, we wish to treat this issue as an expression of political trust in the editors of these newssheets and in the natural manifestation of vigor by trade union organizations, allied, however, to the experience derived from social realities. It would amount ot closing one's eyes, precisely to these social realities, if we failed to notice publications the content of which had more than once been directed against the fundamental assets protected in Article 2 of the bill. These publications, despite the fact that their attention was being drawn to the fact, systematically abused the trust granted them, disregarding the price which has to be paid by the whole community, the whole nation and the whole state for this kind of activity. Precisely for this reason it is proposed to introduce in point No 11 a norm of disciplinary character which makes the text more precise, through the following correction:

In the event of a publication, I emphasize, systematically infringing upon the stipulations of Article 2, the chief office may--I emphasize--after the publisher disregards a warning, submit the publication in question to initial censorship control for a strinctly defined period ot time, not exceeding, however, 6 months. This decision can be contested before the supreme administrative tribunal of the principles envisaged in the current bill.

I would like to draw attention to the fact that a disciplinary norm of this kind resorts, above all, to a preventive function and seeks to achieve educative impact and to take note of the extent to which these important and essential assets, protected by the text of Article 2 of the bill, are being jeopardized and what consequences might follow from this fact.

This norm also has the advantage of acting in two directions: upon publishers and authors, in the form of a disciplinary function concerning the framework to which I have referred before; and also upon the main office, which, in the first place, has the duty to take steps in the form of a warning and, only if these measures fail to yield the desired effect, may resort to temporary introduction of initial censorship control with regard to the publication in question. At the same time, this kind of decision by the main office, as well as any other decisions adopted on the basis of this current bill, is subject to control through court proceedings. Further, it seems that the fact that decisions can be contested derives from the sum total of regulations contained in the bill. Yet, to make things absolutely clear, the correction referred to before also proposes inclusion of the last sentence [as heard], which indicates the possibility of the specific decisions referred to in point No 11 of Article 2 being contested before the tribunal. In this interpretation, the interests of a citizen or of a given community are protected against mistakes, and perhaps even arbitrary action, by the censorship authorities through the control of the independent judicial body, while the interests of the state are safeguarded by clear definition of the publications concerned combined with the possibility of an action, effective in law, against infringement of the public's fundamental interests, formulated in Article 2.

May it please the house, both in the work of the government and in that of the Sejm, in all this vast discussion, much attention has been devoted to the question of placement of the main office within the system of state protection bodies. All in all, three concepts have been formulated. One, contained in Article 6 of the government draft, argues for the main office being subordinated to the Council of Ministers; the second one, contained in the version coming from the public, suggests that the main office be subordinate to the Sejm; and the third concept, which has been voiced in many publications and which was ultimately adopted by the Sejm commissions in the form presented to citizen deputies in printed document No 72, proposes that the main office be subordinated to the Council of State. The government draft justified its concept in the following way: This solution is justified by the fact that the character of the main office is that of an administrative body, and takes into account the legal position formulated by the constitution. The version submitted by the public argued; among other things: entrusting to the government the instrument of controlling criticism creates a temptation to make use of it for the purpose of limiting the freedom of critical appraisal; being directly concerned, the government may not treat criticism in an objective manner and may fail to notice the differences between immediate needs and long-term interests of society.

Considering the point whether subordination of censorship to the Sejm or to the Council of State would affect the present structures of state organs, the Sejm commissions studied with particular attention the current local position and consulted the experts. The result of this analysis is reflected in the conclusion that subordination of censorship to the Council of State does not destroy the compactness of the system of the organs of authority because the factual scope of authority of the Council of State and the corresponding organizacional and legal forms allow for this kind of possibility.

As there are no legal or administrative counterarguments, the next issue that has required consideration has been the matter of the expediency of entrusting the boy in question with surveillance over censorship. It is perhaps necessary to state here that the changes taking place in social relations and evolution of the legal position make it necessary to look at the role and the position of the Council of State in a new way. I think that this new view of the Council of State is indicated also by the results of the rich discussion which preceded the PZPR Ninth Extraordinary Congress. It is also reflected in subordination to the Council of State, along with other bodies, although only indirectly, of the state inspectorate of labor. It is also impossible to argue against the thinking that publications fulfill an essential role in the study of public opinion regarding the functioning of state administration and that surveillance by the Council of Ministers, as the supreme organ of state administration, could on some occasions display symptoms of subjective attitudes which are connected with self-assessment.

Making the main office independent of the government seems to offer better opportunities for using censorship as a means of state control over publications and public performances in the direction of acquiring maximum information about public opinion and public assessments, as well as in the direction of achieving proper reactions to such signals. The supreme surveillance by the Council of State over people's councils, referred to in Article 32 of the Constitution; the partial authority for surveillance over the Supreme Court, referred to in Article 61, paragrphs 3 and 4 of the Constitution; the partial authority over the public prosecutor's office, according to Article 65 of the Constitution--all these would be logically completed by the inclusion of surveillance over the main office. This, taken all together, will contribute to acquisition of a more extensive picture of public opinion and to achievement of a better opportunity for reaction to irregular social phenomena, while at the same time it will make possible providing more impact in the direction of improvement in the functioning of state administration. Surveillance by the Council of State, demanded by the Sejm commissions, would at the same time constitute an indirect form of surveillance by the Sejm, because Article 9 of the draft bill makes it incumbent on the Council of State to submit to the Sejm each year a report on action taken with regard to the authorities concerned with control over publications and public performances. All these considerations lead to the conclusion concerning the expediency of entrusting surveillance over the main office to the Council of State as presented in printed document No 72, reflecting the views of the Sejm commissions. I would like to stress this point, that this proposal must not be interpreted, on any account, as an expression of lack of trust in the government. It should be interpreted as an attempt to search for such organizational and legal forms as will create better mechanisms of control and study and which, in the sum total of the system of the organization of authority, will take into account better and more fully the functional relationships involved.

Citizen deputies, the achievement of the post-August legislature is such a creation of the organs of authority which, in a way, will structurally place their activities on a broader public basis.

This purpose is to be served in the present bill by a board, as an advisory and consultative body, referred to in Article 7, paragraph 3.

It should be recalled that the precedent on this score, not taking into account the somewhat different character of the board in the Supreme Chamber of Control, has been the introduction of boards into the law on the state control of labor. The draft lays down the creation of boards of mixed composition: two thirds of the membership from candidates whose names have been submitted by political, social and creative union organizations and one third coming from candidates submitted by the chairman of the Council of Ministers. A board of this kind is to be a liaison body between the main office, as the organ of authority, and the nation. For the purpose of the socially proper functioning of censorship this contact is altogether indispensable, because having access to public views and opinions it can provide a fuller range of opportunities regarding the study of the opinion.

One should express a profund conviction that both the idea of this board and the tasks with which it has been confronted will receive a favorable reaction from the public, and especially from the social and political organizations as well as creative unions involved. There is perhaps no need to recall that censorship fulfills an extremely difficult and delicate social role and that its activities require close contact with the public--whose contact cannot be assured by even the most perfect legal norms. Therefore the office of censorship should, in addition to its natural vertical structures, in addition to its natural organizational relationships, maintain public links also with horizontal structures. This idea seems to be served by the concept of the board envisaged in the bill.

An extremely important element of the new bill is the introduction of the control of the courts over the decisions of the censor. Whereas the idea of judicial control aroused no doubts, discussion developed on the subject of types of courts which are to exercise this control. The stands taken concern, in particular, the type of court involved, namely, whether this function was to be performed by general courts or by the supreme administrative tribunal. In drawing up a synthesis of the views which have been submitted on this issue it is necessary to state what, in the first place, regarding the concept of general courts, the spokesmen favoring this view argued that the protection of the rights and liberties of citizens justifies best of all the choice of general courts, and, in addition, that control in these matters should be of a wider character, and not just in the examination of the points of legality,which is the perogative of administrative courts. The spokesmen favoring administrative courts, and this concept won the upper hand in the work of the Sejm commissions, were guided by the following arguments: Firstly, in proceedings concerning the control of publications and public spectacles, administrative decisions are made. The recently formed supreme administrative tribunal was created precisely for this purpose, in order to exercise control overthe legality of administrative decisions. The decisions of the organs of control boil down essentially to an assessment of whether the contested decision finds support in the regulations of the law or whether such support would be denied to it. Therefore, the point at issue here is the control, which in the doctrine is called the control of legality, yet in a wide meaning of the word. It consists of a study of how the decision accords with both the regulations of the material and formal law.

I would like, however, to make a reservation that an interpretation of this kind does not mean and on no account can be read as a mechanical examination deprived of [word indistinct] elements. It is possible to indicate, as an example, that the propagation of contents which are morally harmful, mentioned in point No 10 of Article 2, compels the organ of the court authority to make an independent assessment so as to obtain, in this way, the moral criterion desired that is unspecified either in the bill itself or in the legal system as a whole.

May it please the house, an extremely important factor of the proper functioning of censorship lies in the speed of its proceedings. Numerous voices in the press, against the background of the published draft, expressed a reservation as to whether the pace of the proceedings on these matters would robe the publications of their topical interest. This was a very apposite remark which required consideration with regard to all the activities which may or should be undertaken within the framework of the bill, with a view to creating legal grounds for the speeding up of the course of court action without limiting the open character of the proceedings and full conformity of the proceedings to the rule of the law. These intentions accompanied the work of the Sejm commissions on the contents of Articles 12 and 13 of the draft bill, which fixed the time limits and laid down rules covering the sequence of all the proceedings. These regulations, in their present form, endeavor in the most precise manner, to indicate short and strict time limits for making decisions, conveying the content of these decisions to the interested parties, the submission of appeals and complaints and their acceptance as well as [words indistinct]. In order to achieve a further acceleration of the proceedings, there have been adopted, at the same time, the principles--referred to in paragraph 3 of Article 15--of temporary relief of complaints about the payment of dues, which fact makes possible the avoidance of a lengthy procedure connected with the summons for the payment of dues and relief from the payment thereof. A real innovation which can have a considerable impact on the speed of the proceedings has been included in Article 13, paragraphs 3 and 4.

In paragraph 3, it has been established that in the event of the failure to make a decision on the part of the regional office of control, within the limit indicated in paragraph 2, such silence on the part of the authorities should be interpreted as a negative decision enabling the party concerned to submit an appeal. On the other hand, the failure on the part of the main office to contest an appeal decision within the time limits set in the bill means in accordance with paragraph 4 of Article 13, that the publication is allowed to be circulated. All this indicates that the bill treats the efficiency and speed of proceedings as an extremely important ingredient of regulation by law. For the purpose of complete clarity it should be added that the rights derived from the so-called silence of the authorities, for example from the failure of the authorities to make a decision within fixed time limits, can become a factor on those occasions when the persons submitting a publication or a public spectacle for control by censorship authorities supply the authorities with the place and manner in which their decision can be communicated to them. Such a regulation, therefore, shows concern, at the same time, for a bilateral safeguarding of rights and duties: those of the authorities towards the citizens, and those of the citizens with regard to the authorities.

May it please the house, the Sejm commissions propose, in Article 14, the introduction into the bill of the principle of recording the censor's intervention professing that the openness of our proceedings and the concern for the protection of the author's rights speaks in favor of such a solution. In the event of the submission of a demand for a record to be made of the censor's intervention the organs of the censorship control produce the legal basis for such an intervention and in this way they provide information, even in the most general terms, about the reasons for the intervention. The person concerned is given the freedom of choosing the means: either a demand for the intervention of the censor to be recorded, with a simultaneous abandonment of the right to make a complaint, or the abandonment of the demand for the intervention of the censor to be recorded in favor of the complaint. This is so because in the event of the complaint being allowed by the administrative tribunal the record of the intervention by the censor cannot be allowed.

The next problem that arises in the bill concerns the culpability of avoiding censorship control defined in the bill or the failure to comply with the prohibitions following from the decisions of censorship organs. Such prohibitions have been determined in Article 17 of the bill, taking into account corrections submitted to citizen deputies in the printed document No 72B in the form of a so-called offense for which the penalty is a fine amounting to up to Z5,000.

There is a very considerable change both in comparison with the legal position which has been in force up to now and which has envisaged the threat of imprisonment for up to 1 year or a fine amounting up to Z10,000 or even both of these penalties together, and also in comparison with the government's draft which, although it proposed the higher limit of the fine to be Z5,000 suggested at the same time a penalty of imprisonment of up to 3 months. The present system of penalties as proposed in the bill has resulted from numerous postulates received from the public, recently also from the Polish Writers' Union. It also results from the conviction that it is not in the system of penalties but in the climate of greater public impact, in an atmosphere of greater civic concern for the proper use of the freedom of speech and the printed word, that the point of gravity is to be found. It should perhaps be added that in the practice experienced formerly the occasions when imprisonment was the penalty for actions of this kind have hardly been known to occur. And if this is so then there is no need for maintaining sanctions which, in actual fact, are not being used. In accordance with the correction that is being introduced it is proposed to bring into the description of the offensive action in Article 17, after the word "avoids" an alteration which specifies the rule more precisely by adding the words: the performance of the duty to submit for censorship a publication or public spectacle. This is a correction which aims at achieving the most precise possible specification of the regulation concerned and at removing any doubt regarding efforts to avoid the censorship on the part of persons obliged to sumbit a publication or a public spectacle for censorship control.

In view of the fact that certain publications and utterances conveyed the demand of extending the system of aforementioned penalties to the employees of the censorship system, it must be made clear that this demand was based on a misunderstanding. The employees of the control organs are responsible for their activities in the same way as all state functionaries, for example in the event of cases determined by law, either under criminal or disciplinary procedure.

Citizen deputies, matters of considerable social importance include also the so-called limitations of communication, which are referred to in Article 16 of the draft bill, defining the freedom of propagation of foreign publications. This regulation takes into account two situations. The first one is one of an immediate single-case ban on the propagation of specific publications--a book, a magazine or a film--in the event of their contents infringing on the regulations of the criminal code. Secondly, the deprivation of a foreign periodical of permission for circulation for a period of 1-5 years, if with regard to this periodical there had been in force previously, at least on three occasions, a ban on circulation. The ban on the importation and storage of foreign publications covered by the ban on circulation does not affect scientific libraries or other libraries mentioned in paragraph 3 of Article 16, but only if such storage is connected with their statutory activities. These prohibitions also do not refer to persons and institutions which require such publications for professional or research purposes. The importation of foreign publications for other purposes requires the consent of the main office.

These changes are connected with innovations introduced in the regulations contained in Article 13 of the customs law; they are connected with the introduction of paragraph 5 which opens the way for the jurisdiction of the courts over cases of the loss of works or transmissions of information, which is the subject of paragraph 1 of the aforementioned Article 13 of the customs law.

In this connection it is worth expressing the opinion that further legislative work should include a full-scale combination of the regulations of the customs law with the bills that are now being adopted. In order to be able to adapt the activities formerly performed by the organs of control as well as their organizational structures to the tasks and functions which are envisaged in the legal act that is being proposed, it is suggested that the bill in question becomes valid, in accordance with the correction submitted for this purpose, on 1 October 1981.

May it please the house, the demand submitted by the public and concerning the coordination of the bill on the control of publications and public spectacles with the law on the press and the law on state and economic secrets deserves to be taken into account, although not in the form in which it was originally proposed. It would be contrary to the correct legislative procedure to (?allow) the stipulations of the version submitted by the public, to determine in one bill the time limit for the preparation of another bill. However, the objective, the just objective of the postulate can be achieved by means of a Sejm resolution, the text of which is being submitted by the Sejm commissions in the printed document No 72A, for the approval of the house. This problem, besides, is linked with the proposal addressed to the government, which suggests a comprehensive preparation of legal acts, and which would enable the mutual relationship between legal acts to be perceived and properly appreciated in the course of the work of the Sejm on the individual bills.

May it please the house, the account of the most important problems of the bill under discussion, which I have presented, and which, through necessity, has had to be very brief, illustrates the complexity, delicacy and importance of the matter which is being legislated. The essence of this subject must always be examined in its social context, and therefore in the relationship, not only to the reality which is actually in existence, but also to the relations which, with the help of this bill, will have to be shaped in the future. The assessment of the draft bill as a whole, together with the remarks and changes submitted on its issue, proves that this is a progressive legal act which has an innovative character. It proves that this is an act planning minimum intervention and maximum freedom, a legal act based on the conviction that a sensible use of the freedom of speech and of the printed word defines not only the duty of the state towards the citizen but also determines the obligations of the citizens towards the interests of the whole society.

The bill has come into being as a result of the clash of many different views, and as every legal act, it is a compromise to some extent; yet it is a compromise only as to the form and the means, but never as to the principles. This is why the bill begins with the legal guarantee for the freedom of speech and the printed word; this is why it is so thoroughly imbued with the concern that the constitutional declaration of the freedom of speech and of the printed word should be matched by material and legal guarantees and conditions for putting the principle into effect.

May it please the house, the bill is coming into being at times which are far from tranquil, in difficult times, at a time when problems of everyday life and of national economy frequently obscure many other issues which, from a social point of view, are extremely significant and important. This bill is coming into being at times which are difficult and complex but also when prudence and courage will be indivisably linked, when civic liberty will reach full luster and when there will be responsible decisionmaking by all citizens about the destiny of the country. Therefore, one cannot escape at the end, the reflection which recalls the bright idea expressed in the 3 May Constitution: The happiness of nations derives from just laws and the effect of the laws depends on their implementation.

On behalf of the commission on internal affairs and on the administration of justice as well as the commission on legislative matters, I have the honor to submit for adoption the bill on the control over publications and public spectacles, as rendered in printed documents numbers 46, 72, and 72B, as well as for the adoption of the resolution proposed in the printed document number 72A. Thank you for your attention. [Applause]

Malcuzynski Speech

LD311423 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1043 GMT 31 Jul 81

[Speech by journalist Kardl Malcuzynski at the Sejm session in Warsaw--live]

[Excerpts] I must admit that it is not easy to start talking about censorship the moment after we have received in front of the Sejm and in the Sejm a worker delegation, demanding that the basic material needs of society be met. But, because I believe that freedom of speech is equally as important as bread--moreover, the working class believes so too and showed it by introducing the issue of censorship into the Gdansk agreements--I am going to speak in this discussion.

Let us say at once that in this sphere we have behind us a chapter of particularly blatant corrupt practices, often linked with manifestations of political blindness and stupidity. Censorship taken ad absurdum became in fact one of the sources of the present crisis, of social revolt and the cause of irreparable moral and civic damage. To avoid misunderstandings, I would like to say that when I talk about censorship in the past, I am not only of the laborious, I would say, tedious work of the chief office for the control of press, publishing and public performances, but also, and maybe above all, of the impunity and high-handedness in manipulating the press, and particularly television, by centers not at the state's command, using means outside the law and bereft of minimum public control; bereft, I add as a journalist, of an elementary knowledge of the laws of social psychology and the journalist's craft.

These were real uncultivated fields in which absolute lawlessness ran wild, which is today learnedly called voluntarism; where, on the pretext of protecting state interests, the protection of the activity of various ruling groups, of various prominent people, participants in constantly changing circumstances and, as it more and more frequently proves today, of simple embezzlers and thieves of public money, was included. This sort of practice must be stopped or, let us say more modestly, (?contain it within) the law on censorship being debated today.

Let us not forget during this debate from what point we are starting, and it what situation both internal and external.

The 1946 government decree has been binding in Poland and is formally binding up to today as it was 35 years ago.

The system of regulations also applied to people's names, often outstanding creative people, scientists, activists and artists, whose sole sin was to have signed some sort of letter, manifesto or protest addressed to their own state authorities. If your name was written there, it meant in practice public and creative death: Not only could you not write and publish, but your previously already published works which had passed the censor were forbidden to be printed; your name was not even allowed to be mentioned, even in reviews or historical writings. The regulation concerned names not creative work, the man and not his work. It was forbidden, for instance, to mention the names of (Oskar Chadecki), Marek Hlasko, (Marian Kukiel), Czeslaw Milosz, Andrzeu Panufnik, (Kazimierz Dzierzynski), (Roman Palester), Zbigniew Herbert, both the Brandys, Antoni Slonimski and finally Wanda Wilkomirska. Those are examples from among dozens.

There were also regulations which were not merly stupid: They were, I do not hesitate to use the word--absolutely disgraceful. It was forbidden to publish news with a basic significance for the health and life of the nation: about threats to the natural environment, river pollution, the disastrous shortage of drugs, threatened epidemics, and about construction materials poisoning children in kindergartens and schools. It was forbidden to criticize the squandering of millions of dollars on the purchase of foreign licenses and at the same time to speak about the neglected and unused projects and patents of our scientists. It was forbidden to quote too recalcitrant statements by Sejm commissions, or even some court verdicts and judgments. No motivation was needed for all that and there was no recourse.

May it please the house. Just a few specific examples to bring tears to your eyes, deputies. There were times when it was allowed to write only badly about Wajda and only well about (Szachuberski). There was a special ban on writing about the fact that Amin, the terrible dictator of Uganda, had decided to erect a monument to Hitler in his country. It was forbidden to use pejorative descriptions like, for example, military junta or, God forbid, guerrilla, about those Latin American countries with which we have diplomatic relations. It was forbidden for a certain period to criticize a television program. There was also a time when it was impossible to write about the royal castle: The term Warsaw Castle was obligatory. (?It was as if we were threatened with a return of the monarchy). All data on the consumption of coffee in Poland were removed at one time, to conceal the fact of its re-export, because there was too little coffee in Poland. When there was too much vodka, there was a ban on writing about the extent of the plague of alcoholism and the lack of organized treatment. It was forbidden to write about the catastrophic state of work safety and hygiene in some factories; and it was forbidden to mention the persecution of communists in some friendly Arab countries.

A particular curiosity was the obligation to have all photographs of the first secretary and members of the leadership censored. The idea was probably to show the people their best side.

Now the last example from my own experiences. We were probably the only country in the world where it was forbidden to write about the Watergate affair. The whole world was devoting columns to it every day. For us, it seemed such a scoop, the worst constitutional crisis in the greatest imperialist country. So at the height of the Watergate affair, when the dismissal of Nixon was already on the cards, a conference was held in the Central Committee for chief editors, publicists and our correspondents. It was chaired by Jan Szydlak; the main speaker was our propaganda wizard, Jerzy Lukaszewica. In his report, I heard the following words, and I quote: Some comrades are complaining that Watergate is not being written about in Poland. We are right not to write about it and we will not be writing about it. It is an artificially blown-up affair, which is in any case dying out. It was fanned by Zionist circles and the military complex which want to torpedo the U.S.-Soviet dialogue and Brezhnev's announced visit to the United States. End of Quote.

I must admit that I was flabbergasted, because I just heppened to have two issues of American dailies in my briefcase, in which on all the front-page columns there were black headlines on the Watergate affair. I asked to speak, and I pulled them out like a rabbit from a hat as proof of how the Watergate affair was dying out. I then said a few words about the profound harm and danger of such political analyses. Do you think, colleague deputies, that I met with a [word indistinct] counter-attack or even a mild reprimand? Neither the speaker nor the chairman stammered out a word about it in the summing-up. The only result of my intervention was that I was never again invited to such meetings.

All these examples and reminiscences seem almost incredible today, which shows that something has after all changed in the sphere of information and propaganda, even without the new law.

New Censorship Law

NC311551 Paris AFP in English 1506 GMT 31 Jul 81

[Text] Warsaw, 31 Jul (AFP)--The Polish parliament today approved a new censorship law that in effect protects internal news bulletins of the independent labor federation Solidarity from the censor's scissors. The law was approved unanimously by the parliament with three absentions.

It also says, however, that publications that divulge state secrets, endanger Poland's alliances with other countries or encourage immoral conduct will attract the attention of the censor's office.

Such indiscretions, if repeated, might force authorities to put the publication under a "temporary control" for six months at most. Editors could appeal such decisions in an administrative court.

Karol Malcuzynski, a liberal journalist, said in parliament that "the new censorship law, although imperfect, was the best Poland could expect."

Jaruzelski Cabinet Proposals

LD311536 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1455 GMT 31 Jul 81

[Speech by Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, chairman of the Council of Ministers, at the Sejm session--live]

[Text] I wish to present to the supreme chamber proposals for changes in the composition of the Council of Ministers.

I submit that the house recall: Citizen Mieczyslaw Jagielski at his own request from the post of deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers; Citizen Miroslaw Milewski from the post of minister of internal affairs, in connection with his election to the post of secretary of the PZPR Central Committee; Citizen Jozef Kepa from the post of minister of administration, local economy and protection of the environment, in connection with his submitted resignation.

In the conviction that the supreme house will accept the named proposals, I wish to convey from this place to Citizen Misczyslaw Jagielski, a well known leading activist of our state, cordial congratulations for his many years of multifaceted active work. [applause]

I cordially thank Miroslaw Milewski, general of the Citizens' Militia division, for energetic activities in responsible state service, and I wish him success in the fulfillment of his new lofty political function. [applause]

I also submit that the following be appointed: Citizen Janusz Obadowski to the post of deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers while recalling him from the post of minister of labor, wages and social affairs; Citizen Division Gen Tadeusz Hupalowski to the post of minister of administration, local economy and protection of the environment; Citizen Division Gen Czeslaw Kiszczak to the post of minister of internal affairs; Citizen Antoni Rajkiewicz to the post of minister of labor, wages and social affairs.

A the same time I feel obliged to inform the house that at the next Sejm session I will submit a proposal for a change in the post of minister of foreign affairs, stemming from the election of Citizen Jozef Czyrek to secretary of the PZPR Central Committee.

I now wish to present the personal data of the candidates nominated for appointment.

Citizen Janusz Obodowski: He was born in 1930 in Siedlce, to a workers' family. From 1947-1950 he was active in the yough movement; in the "OMTUR", [Yough Organization of the Society of Workers' Universities] and later in the Union of Polish Youth. He received a degree from the main school of planning and statistics in Warsaw. In 1973 he received the degree of doctor of economic sciences. He began his professional work in 1953 in the State Commission of Economic Planning, holding the post of adviser and later the post of the departmental chief. In 1957 he transferred to the Ministry of Labor and Health Care as vice director of the Department of Employment. From 1960-1968 he worked in the Committee of Labor and Wages, ultimately as director of the group for collective economic analyses. From 1968, he worked in the Planning Commission at the Council of Ministers as the director of the group for employment, wages and qualified cadres. In 1972 he was appointed to the post of undersecretary of state in the Ministry of Labor, Wages and Social Affairs. He has been head of this ministry since 1980. He is a member of the PZPR.

Citizen Lt Gen Tadeusz Hupalowski: He was born in 1922 in (?Zldczow) in the Podole region to a peasant's family. In 1945 he graduated from the officers' infantry school. From 1946-1949 he studied at the diplomatic and consular faculty of the Academy of Political Sciences in Warsaw. He graduated from the military academy. During a later period, he completed further higher operational and strategic studies. During his regular military service he held a number of responsible leading posts, including head of the operational board of the General Staff, head of the Territorial Defence Inspectorate, chief of staff of the Silesian Military District, and deputy chief of the General Staff for matters of organization and mobilization. Holding these posts, he directly cooperated for many years with the central and regional organs of the state administration. Since 1973 he has been the first deputy of the chief of General Staff of the Polish Army. He is a member of the PZPR.

Citizen Lt Gen Czeslaw Kiszczak: He was born in 1925 in (?Rocyny) in the Bielsko-Biala Voivodship to a peasant's family. He graduated from the academy of the General Staff. During the occupation, he participated in the resistance movement and was decorated with the Grunwald Cross, third class. He has been in the Polish People's Army since 1945. For many years he served in the military counterintelligence organs. From 1972-1979 he was the chief of military intelligence and, at the same time, a deputy chief of General Staff of the Polish Army. From April 1979 he held the post of chief of the military internal service in the Ministry of National Defense. He is the chairman of the Coordinating Commission for the Consolidation of Law and Order and the Observance of Public Order. In July 1981 he was appointed to the post of under-secretary of state in the Ministry of Domestic Affairs [as heard] and was temporarily entrusted with the duties of the head of this ministry. He is a member of the PZPR.

Citizen Antoni Rajkiewicz: He was born in 1922 in (?Druzbice) in the Piotrkow Voivodship to a teacher's family. He received a degree in law and economics from the University of Lodz. In 1954 he received the degree of doctor of economic sciences, and in 1962 he received a postdoctoral degree. He has been a full professor since 1978.

Since 1948 he has worked as an academic teacher in higher education at the University of Lodz in the main school of planning and statistics, and since 1969 at the University of Warsaw, currently as director of the Institute of Social Policy. Concurrently with his activity in higher education, he was the organizer and director of the group for social planning in the Planning Commission at the Council of Ministers in 1972-74. He is the author of many scholarly works in the field of social policy and employment policy. In the Polish Academy of Sciences he holds the post of deputy chairman of the Committee for Problems of Work and Social Policy. He is a member of the PZPR.

I ask the supreme house to accept these nominations.

Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish at 1505 GMT on 31 July in its live relay of the Sejm session reports the voting held on Premier Jaruzelski's proposed changes in the Council of Ministers. Jagielski's recall is approved with 5 against and 26 abstentions. Milewski's recall is approved with three abstentions. Kepa's recall is approved with 1 against and 17 abstentions. Obodowski's recall is approved with one against and nine abstentions. Obodowski's appointment as deputy premier is approved with 11 against and 52 abstentions. Hupalowski's appointment as administration minister is approved with eight abstentions. Kiszczak's appointment as internal affairs minister is approved with two abstentions. Rajkiewicz's appointment as labor minister is approved with 11 abstentions.]

Obodowski Interviewed

LD011003 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0500 GMT 1 Aug 81

[Interview with Janus Obodowski, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, by unidentified correspondent on 31 July in Warsaw--recorded]

[Text] [Question] Deputy Premier, a moment ago in the Sejm you were entrusted with very important duties. I would like to ask: (?what exactly are those duties?)

[Answer] It is not precisely known; it is a matter for the premier and the Government Presidium.

[Question] And when will we be able to start talking about the specific area on your work?

[Answer] Tuesday or Wednedsay, I think [words indistinct].

[Question] What are the most important problems to be settled?

[Answer] The Sejm has spent 2 days debating the most important problems: food, coal, electricity and detergents. We have to guarantee these basic articles, but we have to work. Unfortunately labor productivity is dropping. I regret to have to say this: labor efficiency is pitifully low in all branches and sectors of the economy. Of course, it is partly our fault, but not only ours. And this is probably the republic's top problem.

[Question] But your work [words indistinct] is accompanied by voices of protest [words indistinct].

[Answer] Yes, I saw and heard them. I wonder who is organizing them. We are an intelligent nation, and everybody understands that you cannot make bricks without straw. There is no meat; there is nothing to share. There are many branches of the economy where we could [words indistinct] increase the labor efficiency of which I spoke a moment ago and eliminate (?to some extent) the empty shelves in the stores. And still we are talking, holding rallies and organizing marches: Nothing positive will come of it. [passage indistinct]

Resolution on Food Supply

LD311913 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1512 GMT 31 Jul 81

[Text of 12 July Sejm proceedings led by Sejm Marshal Stanislaw Gucwa concerning a resolution on food supplies proposed by Solidarity's Mazowsze region--live]

[Text] [Gucwa] Citizen deputies, before noon today a delegation from Solidarity's Mazowsze region arrived at the Sejm building. The delegation represented Warsaw work enterprises. They presented a resolution demanding that any kind of lowering in the norms for meat allocation be stopped. This topic was discussed yesterday during the Sejm debate. The delegation demands that allotments be increased from 3 to 4 kg for manual laborers. The demand was put in the following way: It is necessary to rework the criteria for allocation of norms so that it is socially acceptable.

The resolution also contains a number of demands concerning the improvement of the supply of food and other goods. At the same time, the resolution states that if the government does not increase meat allocation, or if it brings back the allocation figures originally planned for August, Solidarity's Mazowsze region intends to undertake a number of protest actions. The resolution presents concrete proposals and a timetable for such actions. [passage indistinct]

In this connection the Sejm Presidium proposes to adopt the following resolution: The Sejm of the People's Republic of Poland expresses profound anxiety both over the development of the social and political situation in Poland and over the growing tension and the protest actions. Because they are street demonstrations, the latter carry a danger of incalculable consequences.

The Sejm understands the working people's dissatisfaction that is caused by the temporary lowering of the norms of meat coupon allocation. This is caused by a serious fall in the recent purchasing of animals for slaughter. The Sejm accepts the government pledge that everything possible will be done in order to return the level of meat supply to the previous norms. The Sejm has unanimously approved the government program for overcoming the crisis and for stabilizing the economy. The Sejm expects the government to vigorously implement this program and appeals to the whole community--to all of the working people and all organizations--to cooperate with the government in this work. Only implementation of this program can ensure a significant improvement in the working people's situation.

The Sejm expects the government to step up the struggle against food speculation and empowers the government to undertake all steps necessary to achieve this goal. The Sejm makes it obligatory for the government to undertake effective steps in order to ensure full implementation of the contract purchasing agreements concerning meat production, and to (?undertake) actions to accelerate meat production. In particular, it is essential to ensure that farmers have sufficient deliveries of fuel and other means of production and to improve the organization of contract purchasing.

The Sejm appeals to the farmers and their organizations and to the cooperative movement in the countryside to help with the feeding of towns and cities, above all by prompt and reliable fulfillment of contract purchasing pledges. The Sejm appeals to the entire community to refrain from any actions which could increase tension and thus make it more difficult to overcome the crisis and stabilize the national economy.

Would any of citizen-deputies like to take the floor on this subject? Nobody would like to speak? Yes, please, Deputy Struzek.

[Struzek] Citizen Speaker, [words indistinct] I propose that parts of the resolution, those which concern undertaking a more efficient struggle against speculation, should be supplemented with a passage concerning the streamlining of the trade of food.

I think that it is [words indistinct] that in this area there is still room for improvement.

[Gucwa] Concerning Deputy Struzek's remarks this truth is included in the stabilization program passed by the Sejm today, but of course we could introduce such a comment into the text of the resolution if the house agrees. Are there any more remarks?

As there are no other comments, regarding the amendment introduced by Deputy Struzek, I understand that the Sejm is adopting the proposed text of the resolution. If I do not hear voices to the contrary, I shall assume that the draft of this resolution has been approved. I do not hear any voices to the contrary. We now procede to the fifth item on the agenda, questions and written questions from deputies.

TRYBUNA LUDU on Session

LD030946 Warsaw PAP in English 0838 GMT 3 Aug 81

[From the press review]

[Text] Warsaw, 3 Aug (PAP)--Once more, the Sejm had much to criticize the government for, wrote TRYBUNA LUDU in a commentary on the recent Sejm session in Poland. One has to agree with the opinion voiced during the debate that it is high time for ideas and promises to materialize faster. Programmes alone are not enough today. Firm and just (?action) is the answer, it was said. The thing is not to let words rule over deeds. Without putting in doubt the rightness of such criticism; it is difficult to approve of the various forms of pressure for particular reasons. This kind of pressure was applied not only in the Sejm. There were echoes of pressure and demands from outside as well--put forward by Solidarity. The issue this time was the immediate return to the previous quantities of rationed meat and meat products. Of course, it is not difficult to go back to previous rations, or even double them. Only, what will it help? Decisions alone will not make more steel constructions, building materials, meat or anything. Work is the only way out. National energy should be channeled for this aim today, instead of being wasted so often on haggling over demands and unrealistic debates.

GOVERNMENT TU COMMITTEE, SOLIDARITY MEETING

Meeting To Be 3 August

LD311951 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1900 GMT 31 Jul 81

[Text] PAP reports that in connection with a souring of the political situation in our country, Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski, chairman of the Council of Ministers, Committee for Trade Union Affairs, has proposed to the Presidium of the National Consultative Commission of NSZZ Solidarity that a meeting be held with the committee in Warsaw on 3 August.

Meeting Date Rejected

LD012135 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 1 Aug 81

[Text] As we reported previously, in connection with the upcoming political situation, Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski proposed the holding of a meeting between the Council of Ministers Committee for Trade Union Affairs and the Presidium of the National Consultative Commission [KKP] of the NSZZ Solidarity. The KKP, in a reply sent to the office of the Council of Ministers by its deputy chairman, Andrzej Gwiazda, has rejected the meeting proposed for 3 August and said that it sees no need for such a meeting in the near future.

Rejection Report Withdrawn

LD021030 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 2 Aug 81

[Text] Less than 1 hour ago PAP withdrew the information issued late yesterday evening to the effect that Andrzej Gwiazda, chairman of the National Consultative Commission of Solidarity, had rejected the proposal for a meeting tomorrow put forward by Deputy Premier Rakowski and that he had not confirmed the necessity for a meeting in the immediate future.

According to information given to Polish radio by Janusz Onyszkiewicz, spokesman of the National Consultative Commission of Solidarity, we will soon receive a statement by him on this subject.

Gwiazda Message to Government

LD021046 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1010 GMT 2 Aug 81

[Text] Here is the text of the Telex sent by Andrzej Gwiazda, deputy chairman of the Solidarity National Consultative Commission [KKP], to the governemnt regarding the date of negotiations proposed by Deputy Premier Rakowski and which we received in the course of our program from the spokesman of the KKP of Solidarity, Janusz Onyszkiewicz. Here is the text:

The date of 3 August is no longer under consideration for technical reasons. Please send by return the opinions and propositions of the government in accordance with the agreed course of procedure. A session of the KKP Presidium takes place on 4 August and at this Presidium the proposed subjects will be discussed. The position of the union will be passed by us to the office of the Council of Ministers immediately. If the necessity of carrying out talks results, we will agree on a date after acquainting ourselves with the position of the government.

[Signed] Andrzej Gwiazda, 31 July 1981.

Onyszkiewicz Communique

LD021455 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 2 Aug 81

[Communique sent to Warsaw radio by Janusz Onyszkiewicz, press spokesman of NSZZ Solidarity's National Consultative Commission on 2 August]

[Text] Late in the afternoon on 31 July the Presidium of NSZZ Solidarity's National Consultative Commission [KKP] received the proposal for talks to be held on Monday 3 August. In reply Andrzej Gwiazda, the union's deputy chairman, informed the government of technical difficulties regarding the acceptance of that date due to the necessity of summoning an urgent session of the KKP's Presidium and preparing the talks. I would like to stress that in the Telex which was sent the idea of undertaking talks at a convenient date was not rejected.

This evening, that is Sunday 2 August, a session of NSZZ Solidarity's KKP will be held in Warsaw.

Walesa Arrives

NC021949 Paris AFP in English 1945 GMT 2 Aug 81

[Text] Warsaw, 2 Aug (AFP)--Solidarity leader Lech Walesa arrived today shortly after 7 P.M. local time (1700 GMT) for a meeting of the independent union's top leadership about a request for government-union talks, sources said.

Deputy Prime Minister Mieczyslaw Rakowski proposed the talks in response to Warsaw workers' demands that government-mandated reductions in meat rations be cancelled.

KKP Session Begins

LD022028 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2000 GMT 2 Aug 81

[Text] Ladies and gentlemen, I have just received a report that this evening in Warsaw a session of the Presidium of the National Consultative Commission [KKP] of Solidarity attended by Lech Walesa, representatives of Solidarity for Private Farmers' and Jan Kulaj, has begun.

The government proposal for holding a meeting tomorrow with the Council of Ministers Committee for Trade Union Affairs has been approved. After the meeting [presumably referring to the 3 August meeting] the KKP Presidum intends to announce a special communique.

Talks Set For 3 August

NC022007 Paris AFP in English 2002 GMT 2 Aug 81

[Text] Warsaw, 2 Aug (AFP)--The governing board of the independent trade federation Solidarity today agreed to meet the government for talks tomorrow, labor sources said.

Talks Begin 3 August

LD031028 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 3 Aug 81

[Text] Talks between the Council of Ministers Committee for Trade Union Affairs and the Presidium of the Solidarity National Consultative Commission [KKP], held in accordance with the government proposal submitted last Friday and approved by the KKP Presidium yesterday, have started in Warsaw.

Walesa Interview

LD031126 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 3 Aug 81

[Text] Andrzej Jelenski is in the studio. May we have your report.

Good morning. At 1120, in the office of the Council of Ministers, talks began between the Council of Ministers Committee for Trade Union Affairs, including Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski, and the Presidium of the National Consultative Commission [KKP] of NSZZ Solidarity, including its chairman, Lech Walesa. Literally just before he went into the building I recorded a conversation with Lech Walesa.

[Begin recording] [Question] Can Polish radio ask, a minute before the beginning of the negotiations, what your attitude is prior to the talks?

[Answer] I managed to have a week's rest and so I am in good form. Thus it will be a concrete, down-to-earth talk from which something should result. We have been invited. We do not know what the subjects will be. It is not us who are coming; we have been invited. [as heard] And so the proposals will not depend a great deal on us.

[Question] [Words indistinct] and a bit more about those concrete things.

[Answer] Am I to list them? It would take too long. We shall say (?everything) after the end of the meeting. [end recording]

SOLIDARITY RESPONDS TO RATIONING, SHORTAGES

Rationing in Szczecin

LD311606 Warsaw PAP Maritime Press Service in Polish 1200 GMT 31 Jul 81

[Text] Warsaw, 31 Jul (PAP)--In Szczecin Voivodship, local voivodship ration coupons are being issued to go into effect beginning 1 August. In connection with the widespread demands and initiative by the workforces, Szczecin Voivodship decided to issue the inhabitants of Szczecin Voivodship with special ration coupons for products included in local rationing. In this way the authorities hope to guarantee, to the best of their abilities, quantities of goods now in short supply caused by local distribution quotas and to ensure a relatively just division of the available goods.

'Open Letter' to Jedynak

LD311434 Warsaw PAP Maritime Press Service in Polish 1200 GMT 31 Jul 81

[Text] Gdansk-Szczecin, 31 Jul (PAP)--The first secretary of the Szczecin Voivodship PZPR Committee, S. Miskiewicz, has sent an open letter to Jedynak, deputy premier of the Polish People's Republic, in which he demands the radical improvement of the supply of basic food and industrial products to Szczecin Voivodship.

In the letter we read: Moved by the urgent need to eliminate the most drastic shortages on the Szczecin Voivodship market, shortages of food staples and industrial products, among them tobacco products and toiletries, I request the urgent consideration and settlement of our motions and official memoranda addressed to the Ministry of Domestic Trade and Services, concerning the steady deliveries of the aforementioned items.

Women Stage Protest March

NC311935 Paris AFP in English 1912 GMT 31 Jul 81

[Text] Warsaw, 31 Jul (AFP)--Some 4,000 women staged a protest march in the Baltic port of Szczecin today to denounce food shortages and demand the cancellation of a cut in meat rations announced by the government. The march followed similar women's demonstrations in the Polish cities of Kutno and Lodz. Other protests over the food shortage are planned in several cities of southern Poland for next Friday. Parliament Speaker Stanislaw Gucwa meanwhile told a delegation from the Warsaw branch of Solidarity today that the government would "reexamine" its meat rationing projects.

Solidarity Official's Views

LD312114 Gdansk Domestic Service in Polish 1440 GMT 31 Jul 81

[Interview with Stanislaw (Watolowski), member of the Szczecin board of NSZZ Solidarity, with unidentified reporter in Szczecin on 31 July--recorded]

[Text] [Question] We watched you yesterday on television. You discussed a subject which is relevant today to the women of Szczecin. Can you please tell us who has organized this march and what is its aim?

[Answer] Women have organized this march. The only thing is that you said that I was speaking yesterday. I spoke the day before yesterday and it was supposed to be shown in the main edition of the news the day before yesterday and then perhaps we would not have had this march.

[Question] You said that you had checked things. You had access to documents and information that there is not in the state refrigerator as much food as we should like. Thus, how is one to interpret the current situation? I have in mind here this march and the fact that you must have also told the people that you had checked the documents and had seen the materials.

[Answer] Yes. But the condition, which caused me to speak at the [word indistinct] Presidium was that it would be shown on television to make it credible, because no one believes what the government says. This is why a witness was necessary who would speak the truth. As you saw this was not shown in time because if it had been shown the day before yesterday in the main edition of the news I hope [sentence unfinished].

[Question] What would this have achieved?

[Answer] It would simply make it credible. Ask those women who heard it yesterday [words indistinct]. The march was organized really only yesterday. This might not have taken place.

We talked with colleagues about this today at work and it seems that it could have been avoided. But things had gone so far that it was difficult to convince anyone. We demanded access to radio and television where we could have said this earlier and it could have been somehow explained and shown on film. But all means will become accessible in the very end when there is great tension. Only then are we granted that access. [passage indistinct]

[Question] More and more women are joining the march to accompanying applause. How many enterprises have joined this march, and how many women are participating in it?

[Answer] There are 10,000-15,000 of them.

Rally in Wroclaw

LD312052 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2000 GMT 31 Jul 81

[Text] A rally took place in Wroclaw today organized by Solidarity. It was devoted to food problems. At enterprises at Koluszki in Piotrkow Voivodship, Solidarity has organized a protest march during working hours.

Additional Protest Actions

LD312208 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2130 GMT 31 Jul 81

[Text] In connection with serious difficulties with the supply of foodstuffs to the market, Solidarity organizations have organized protest actions in Szczecin, Wroclaw, Koluszki and Opoczno among other places.

Warsaw Protests Situation

LD031050 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 3 Aug 81

[Text] In protest against the ever worsening supply of food to Warsaw and the capital voivodship and in accordance with a previous decision of the central board of NSZZ Solidarity, Mazowsze region, a procession of buses of the municipal transportation establishments, Transbud [Warsaw construction enterprise] and state motor transportation, cars and trucks, taxis and ambulances passed along the main streets in central Warsaw this morning. The cars and trucks, which were flashing their headlights and blowing their horns, came from Dzierzynski Square and drove past the PZPR Central Committee building to the Council of Ministers office on Ujazdowskie Avenue.

In addition, as of 1000 today, a strike alert has been declared in the Mazowsze region.

2 Aug Demonstration at PZPR

NC011504 Paris AFP in English 1444 GMT 1 Aug 81

[Text] Warsaw, 1 Aug (AFP)--Delivery trucks and other vehicles are to mass in front of the Polish Communist Party Central Committee offices here Monday in a Solidarity-backed protest over food shortages despite the Polish parliament's warning that street demonstrations could have "unforeseen consequences."

The independent union today said that public transportation buses, trucks, taxis and highway service vehicles, all decked out with banners, are to protest against the "dramatic" situation in food supplies for the populace. A smilar demonstration was already scheduled for the Warsaw city hall.

The Central Committee is Poland's top policy-making body. Its offices are in the center of Warsaw. There also was an apparently spontaneous wildcat strike in Warsaw--a sign that the union may have difficulty channeling the rising discontent.

The latest announcement came as the protests were threatening to spread throughout the country after street marches over food shortages in Kutno and Belchatow in central Poland earlier this week.

Local Solidarity sections at Czestochow and Piotrkow-Trybunalski, both southwest of the capital, have set timetables for warning strikes if authorities do not revise their decision to cut meat rations by 20 percent and generally raise prices. There also have been meetings in factories and public places.

The Polish deputies' warning about the dangers of demonstrations was read out on television. They said they were "deeply worried about the rise in social and political tension in the country" and asked the populace to refrain from any protests, especially "street demonstrations."

The warning was adopted as a resolution by the parliament after officials from the Warsaw Solidarity office led a delegation of several hundred workers to government offices to submit a petition demanding the cancellation of austerity measures.

A delegation from the KKP, the union's highest council, is to meet Monday with the deputy minister in charge of relations with Solidarity, Mieczslaw Rakowski, to discuss union demands. Parliament Speaker Stanislaw Gucwa reportedly has assured the union that the government will reexamine the decision on meat rations this month.

Protest Actions Summed Up

LD010903 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0600 GMT 1 Aug 81

[Text] The serious difficulties of supplying food to the market are giving rise to tension and protests. In some localities Solidarity cells are organizing protest campaigns. They were held yesterday in Szczecin and Wroclaw. At a rally in Wroclaw a resolution was adopted addressed to the Sejm and the city and voivodship administrators which demands that the ration norms for meat and smoked meats in force to date be retained and that measures be taken to improve society's food supplies, detergents, toiletries and cigarettes. Protest actions also took place in Koluszki and Opoczno.

An investigation was held in Lodz which confirmed that even with the growing deficit of foodstuffs there are reserves which might be quickly and effectively used.

A protest action is also taking place in Piotrkow Voivodship in connection with the deterioration in food supplies to the market. Following 8 hours of talks, negotiations between the voivodship administrative authorities, including Voivoda Wlodzimierz Stefanski, and a Solidarity working group were broken off at 0400 today. During the talks agreement was reached on the methods of meeting the demand for milk and bread, but the discussion on the supplies of meat and meat products became deadlocked.

Piotrkow Voivoda's Communique

LD010948 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0830 GMT 1 Aug 81

[Text] In the first newscast I informed you about the breaking off at 0400 of talks between the leadership of the voivodship offices in Piotrkow Trybunalski and the regional board of NSZZ Solidarity. We have received a communique signed by Piotrkow Voivoda Wlodzimierz Stefanski.

Stating that the talks were broken off by Solidarity--the reason was the demand that the voivoda ensure that requirements for meat, smoked meat and poultry be fully satisfied--the communique says that the voivoda and the voivodship authorities do not have the powers to determine these norms or to make changes in these norms because the level of the supply norms was fixed centrally for the whole country.

Further on in the communique we read that the announcement about continuing the protest action in the voivodship increases social tension, causes a mood of irritation and might produce incalculable damage. At the same time the voivoda, following an agreement with the present representatives of the central authorities, has ensured that there will be enough meat in August and that coupons for the month of July will be honored according to the norms which have been established. The Piotrkow Voivoda appeals to the public and to factory workforces to maintain calm and prudence. We believe that there exists a climate for continuing the talks, the communique states in conclusion.

Strike Called for 14 Aug

NC022055 Paris AFP in English 2040 GMT 2 Aug 81

[Text] Warsaw, 2 Aug (AFP)--The Gdansk local of the independent Solidarity trade union will issue a strike call for August 14, the first anniversary of the historic strikes on the Baltic coast last summer, union sources said today.

Workers in the naval shipyards and major firms in the Baltic city will walk off the job for two hours to protest what they see as government negligence in honoring the Gdansk accords signed on August 30, 1980, particularly the clause regarding food supplies, the sources said.

With the accords, Polish authorities committed themselves to improving the long-standing food supply problem. The situation has degenerated to what some call a "catastrophic" level over the past year, however, with more ration cuts threatened.

The current shortages have triggered a wave of protests and hunger marches in several cities, and sparked the latest conflict between government and union officials headed by Solidarity leader Lech Walesa.

Union leaders were meeting today to consider a government proposal for talks on the issue.

LECH WALESA STRESSES NEED TO MAINTAIN PRODUCTION

PM311026 Paris LE MATIN in French 28 Jul 81 p 8

[Bernard Poulet interview with Polish Solidarity leader Lech Walesa in Poland on 23 July: "Walesa: Work First and Make Demands Later"]

[Text] Everybody agrees that he is irreplaceable. But today Lech Walesa is no longer unopposed. Some more "radical" regional cadres, like those in Lodz, criticize him for making too many appeals for calm.

The forthcoming Solidarity congress, to be held in early September, should return him as the trade union's leader but his powers might be more strictly controlled.

He is very tired--he announced yesterday that he was planning to take a week's rest--but he agreed to answer LE MATIN's questions last Thursday.

The policy he wants to see adopted by the Solidarity congress is the whole Gdansk agreements and nothing but the Gdansk agreements. "I intend to continue the Gdansk policy," he explained, "and to try and implement the 640 local agreements which have been signed since. But we must avoid seeking new agreements because the situation will not permit any more."

Is he opposed to new strikes?

"There are people who have only one answer to the economic crisis: strikes. But," he asserted, "that leads nowhere and other solutions must be found. It is a good thing to have the strike weapon in reserve but it must only be used when it is essential. Even the hunger marches will not give the people food to eat; it is better to go into the rural districts and help the peasants. For instance, if a strike becomes necessary, it would be constructive for the strikers to go and take part in farm work. We must work to ensure that production does not fall and that the economy is not paralyzed."

But this "moderate" line is opposed. It is opposed even in Gdansk, where Walesa was reelected to the regional leadership with only 360 votes out of 550. Several more "radical" historical leaders like Gwiazda and Anna Walentynowicz are not members of the new Gdansk leadership. What are the problems?

"It would be a very bad thing," he retorted, "for a movement of more than 10 million people not to have problems. It is only natural that some officials should be demoted and return to grassroots level for a while to prove themselves. Order is now being established in Gdansk. In the coming period, active militants will take a rest and give way to new people, to builders who will implement the agreements already signed and not fight for new agreements."

For his part, Walesa accepts the idea of returning to grassroots level himself but he disputes that he has ever envisaged resigning. Indeed he is convinced that he really expresses the feelings of the grassroots majority.

"If the Solidarity leaders move away from the grassroots," he said, "I will be forced to move away from those leaders and side with the working world." Is Walesa tired? Perhaps but certainly not resigned.

TRYBUNA LUDU VIEWS FOOD SHORTAGES, PROTESTS

LD311315 Warsaw PAP in English 1400 GMT 31 Jul 81

[Text] Warsaw, 21 July (PAP)--The PUWP newspaper TRYBUNA LUDU commented today on the hunger protest in the city of Lodz, central Poland. The paper stated that "one can only guess what were the real objectives behind that action. After giving up the strikes and acknowledging them to be the last resort, Solidarity activists in Lodz decided perhaps they needed a more spectacular action to stay on the wave of activity and in the focus of social interest. It is very likely that some of the activists do not really know how to conduct a normal, everyday union work.

"Without going into details, one thing seems certain. The bandying of a vision of hunger--appropriately fuelled up to stage a demonstration of a political character--exploited the society's authentic dissatisfaction, the conviction shared by many people, women in particular, that protests of this kind may really bring more food and that its lack is caused by ill-will of the authorities. To this end the risk was taken to lead women to the streets.

"It is unquestionable that food supply in big urban areas, like in the whole country, requires radical improvement. This may only be attained by intensifying efforts in agriculture and food processing, bettering distribution and sales network, preventing wastefulness. Street demonstrations will not give more food since there is no more food. This truth has already got across to many people. Perhaps the Lodz protest will help others to understand this. It would be the only success of the action that for several days upset both Lodz and the whole country, requires radical improvement. This may only be attained by intensifying efforts in agriculture and food processing, bettering distribution and sales network, preventing wastefulness. Street demonstrations will not give more food since there is no more food. This truth has already got across to many people. Perhaps the Lodz protest will help others to understand this. It would be the only success of the action that for several days upset both Lodz and the whole country," wrote TRYBUNA LUDU's Cezary Rudzinski.

GASOLINE SHORTAGES, SOVIET ASSISTANCE REPORTED

LD311653 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 31 Jul 81

[Text] A promise by the management of the Central Petroleum Agency [CPN] that there would be an improvement of gasoline supplies beginning in July has not been fulfilled. There are problems not only with the purchase of gasoline but also engine oils. CPN has reported increased gasoline supplies because the refinery in Gdansk is again working at full capacity and the repairs to one of the refineries in Plock have also be completed. Furthermore, the Soviet Union has arranged to supply about 33,000 tons of gasoline for August.

MINERS' NSZZ, AUTONOMOUS TU REPRESENTATIVES MEET

LD011155 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1300 GMT 1 Aug 81

[Text] There was a meeting in Warsaw today of representatives of the miners' NSZZ "Gwarek" with representatives of the Confederation of Autonomous Trade Unions. They discussed the country's social and economic situation and the tasks emerging from it for the trade unions

AGERPRES REPORTS ON CEAUSESCU-BREZHNEV MEETING

LD010900 Bucharest AGERPPES in English 0748 GMT 1 Aug 81

["Friendly Interview Between Nicolae Ceausescu and Leonid Brezhnev"--AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, 1 Aug (AGERPRES)--An interview was held in Crimea on July 31 between Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Leonid Brezhnev, general secretary of the CC of the CPSU, chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

During the interview, Nicolae Ceausescu and L.I. Brezhnev paid special attention to the most important directions of the Romanian-Soviet collaboration.

The Romanian Communist Party and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union set themselves to further expand and heighten the quality of mutual relations, to strengthen the Romanian-Soviet friendship on the basis of the principles of equal rights, observance of national independence and sovereignty, and socialist solidarity.

Under the current five-year plan the commercial exchanges between Romania and the Soviet Union are to increase almost twice as to the previous five-year plan period. Likewise, there still are important reserves for deepening economic collaboration. Romania's participation in the building of gas pipes in the territory of the USSR, of a nuclear power plant in the south of Ukraine, of iron cores extraction enterprises as well as other units will enable her to obtain additional gas quantities, electric power and other products from the Soviet Union. Questions concerning the delivery of oil from the Soviet Union were also discussed.

Nicolae Ceausescu and Leonid Brezhnev examined the most topical international issues. They stressed that the present aggravation of the world situation affected the interest of all countries and all continents. It is necessary that action should be taken against the worsening of international situation, for the resumption and furtherance of the policy of peace, detente and collaboration, for the peaceful settlement of all interstate litigious issues.

The NATO decision regarding the deployment of other medium-ranged nuclear missiles in Europe brings about the escalation of the arms race. This is a heavy burden on the people's shoulders, hinders their creative efforts and the resolution of the stringent issues.

The responsible and rational approach by governments of [word indistinct] questions concerning the limitation and cessation of the arms race, of the nuclear ones in particular, the achievement of confidence-building and military disengagement measures are the main directions towards which the foreign policy activity must be channelled at present. No initiative conducive to lessening military confrontation, on the basis of the principles of equality and equal security, should be left aside.

The Socialist Republic of Romania and the Soviet Union are firm advocates of the full and unconditional translation into fact of the principles and understandings reached at the historic Helsinki conference whose sixth anniversary is to be marked these days. The hope was expressed that the Final Act signatory states would do everything possible that, when the Madrid conference resumes its proceedings, understandings should be reached on the development of the relations among the states participating in the meeting, on the convening of an all-European conference on confidence-building and disarmament measures, on the ensurance of the continuity of the process begun in Helsinki.

The rallying of the technical-scientific and other possibilities of the states having different social systems could lead to rich and fruitful results for the settlement of the energy issue. This would allow of a more rational use of the existing potentials and a faster capitalization of new energy resources. Relating to this highlighted was the topicality of the proposals made by the socialist countries for the convening of a European conference on energy, which should examine all the problems in the area in the near and distant future. Romania and the Soviet Union are ready to make their contribution to the ensurance of the success of such a conference.

The interview between Nicolae Ceausescu and Leonid Brezhnev passed in a friendly, sincere atmosphere.

The talks were attended by Stefan Andrei, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, minister of foreign affairs of the Socialist Republic of Romania; Constantin Mitea, adviser to the RCP general secretary, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania; Andrey Gromyko, member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the CPSU, minister of foreign affairs of the USSR; Anatoliy Blatov, adviser to the general secretary of the CC of the CPSU.

Ceausescu Returns From Visit

LD010902 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0802 GMT 1 Aug 81

[Text] Bucharest, 1 Aug (AGERPRES)--On July 31, Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, came back home from the Soviet Union where he paid a visit at the invitation of Leonid Ilich Brezhnev, general secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

Nicolae Ceausescu was accompanied by Stefan Andrei, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, minister of foreign affairs; Constantin Mitea, member of the CC of the RCP, adviser to the general secretary of the RCP, president of the republic.

When leaving the residence where the talks were held, Nicolae Ceausescu was warmly greeted by Leonid Brezhnev, Andrei Gromyko, Anatoliy Blatov, adviser to the general secretary of the CC of the CPSU.

At the Simferopol airport, Nicolae Ceausescu was seen off by V.S. Makarenko, first secretary of the Crimean Regional Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, by other leaders of the local party and state bodies.

SCINTEIA on Meeting

AU030917 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 2 Aug 81 p 6

[Romulus Caplescu article: "Under the Sign of Fruitful, Friendly Romanian-Soviet Cooperation"]

[Text] Public opinion in our country has learned with great interest and satisfaction of the results of the new friendly meeting between Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Comrade Leonid Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. The meeting and talks, which proceeded in a friendly and sincere (sincera) atmosphere, undoubtedly mark a new significant point in the fruitful and ever upward course of Romanian-Soviet relations and make an outstanding contribution to expanding comprehensive cooperation between the two parties, countries and peoples, to the benefit of socialist and communist construction in Romania and the USSR and in the interest of the overall cause of socialism, progress and peace.

This new summit dialogue again confirmed, through the wide range and significance of problems tackled and through conclusions drawn and agreements reached, the decisive role of meetings between the two party-state leaders, which each time give new impetus and open up new and fertile prospects to overall bilateral cooperation.

As is well known, in the context of expanding and deepening relations with all socialist countries, primarily the neighboring ones, our party and state pay great attention to broadly developing ties of friendship and cooperation with the USSR in all fields, which is a program orientation reiterated by the 12th RCP Congress documents, the treaty of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance between the two countries and "Declaration on Continuously Developing Fraternal Cooperation and Friendship Between the RCP and CPSU and Between Romania and the USSR" signed during Comrade Leonid Brezhnev's 1976 visit to Bucharest. All these documents represent the best framework and lay a sound foundation for continuously raising these ties to higher levels.

Referring to this fruitful course, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu said last February in his speech to the 26th CPSU Congress: "We highly assess the upward course of relations of warm friendship and solidarity between the RCP and CPSU and between our countries and peoples, based on the principles of scientific socialism and Marxism-Leninism and on full equality of rights, mutual esteem and respect, noninterference in domestic affairs and comradely mutual assistance. The further development of Romanian-Soviet friendship, cooperation and solidarity serves the progress and well-being of both countries and the cause of socialism and peace throughout the world."

There is no doubt that this assessment was fully confirmed once more by the results of the latest summit meeting. As is only natural, primary attention was paid to the most important directions of Romanian-Soviet cooperation. In this respect it is worth mentioning the obvious significance of the determination expressed by the RCP and CPSU, in their capacity as leading political forces of the two countries and peoples, to continue to expand and increase the quality of bilateral relations and to strengthen Romanian-Soviet friendship on the basis of principles of equality of rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty and socialist solidarity.

In the overall bilateral relations, particular importance devolves on economic cooperation. It is well known that trade exchanges and cooperation ventures between the two countries are continuously developing, with the Soviet Union constantly occupying an important place in Romania's foreign trade. A significant expression of the dynamism of this cooperation is the fact that, as was stressed at the latest Crimea meeting, the bilateral trade exchanges will double in the current 5-year plan compared with the previous 5-year plan. At the same time the meeting also pointed out that there are still important reserves to continue to deepen this cooperation. There is no doubt that production sharing and specialization, which are modern and highly efficient forms of cooperation, offer broad opportunities in this respect. Last year the two countries actually signed an important document--the long-term program on developing production sharing and specialization until 1990--and the fulfillment of its provisions will greatly stimulate bilateral economic relations. During the latest friendly summit meeting the sides stressed that Romania's participation in building pipelines in the USSR, a nuclear power station in the southern Ukraine, certain enterprises for iron ore extraction, and other projects will permit it to obtain additional quantities of gas, electric power and other products from the USSR. Likewise the sides discussed issues concerning possible oil deliveries from the USSR.

Of course, the development of cooperation between socialist countries at a bilateral level and within CEMA and the expansion of production sharing and specialization aimed at mutually meeting various needs for raw and energy materials and other products are an important requirement whose attainment is designed to make a key contribution to the progress of socialist and communist construction.

This summit dialogue also occasioned a discussion on a number of the most topical international political issues. Under conditions when world tensions are sharpening, thus affecting the interests of all countries and continents, when new hotbeds of conflict have emerged alongside the old ones and when the arms race has reached unprecedented proportions, thus jeopardizing overall peace and security, the sides have stressed the need to act against aggravation of the international situation, for resuming and continuing the policy of peace, detente and cooperation, and for peacefully resolving contentious problems between states, as an ardent requirement and as a primary commandment of the contemporary world, in accordance with the vital aspirations of all peoples.

Undoubtedly this requirement presupposes the limitation and cessation of the arms race, primarily of nuclear armaments, and the adoption of measures of trust and military disengagement, this being the main direction toward which, as was emphasized during the summit meeting, the foreign policy activity of all states should be oriented. No initiative capable of lessening tension and military confrontation should be neglected, under conditions of observance of the principles of equality and equal security. In this respect, the sides assessed that the NATO decision to deploy new medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe determines an intensification of the arms race, which is a great burden for all peoples, hampers their creative efforts, and prevents the resolution of urgent problems.

The Crimea meeting took place 6 years after conclusion of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and only a few days after the decision to interrupt the all-European conference in Madrid. It is a fact that, along with certain progress made in implementing the Helsinki Final Act, there is still much left to be done to fully implement the act's provisions. Likewise, in spite of certain partial agreements, the key problems under discussion in Madrid remained unresolved. In these circumstances great significance devolves upon reiterating Romania's and the Soviet Union's firm support for fully and unconditionally implementing the principles and understandings agreed upon at the Helsinki Conference. The sides expressed hope that the signatories of the Final Act will do everything possible to ensure that when the Madrid meeting is resumed, agreement will be reached upon developing relations between participant states, convening a European conference on strengthening trust and disarmament and ensuring the continuity of the process started in Helsinki.

In the current context of a world shortage of energy and raw materials, a most promising direction for developing cooperation between European states with different social system would be the pooling of scientific-technical efforts and possibilities to resolve the vital problem of energy. Of couse this would facilitate a more rational utilization of existing potentials and would accelerate the utilization of new energy sources, something which could have a most positive impact upon each country's development and would contribute to the progress of the entire continent. Proceeding from this important requirement, the Romanian-Soviet summit dialogue reiterated the topicality of the proposal advanced by the socialist countries to convene an all-European conference on energy. Romania and the USSR are ready to contribute to the success of such a meeting.

The results of the talks between Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and Leonid Brezhnev, the conclusions drawn on bilateral relations and international developments as well as the concrete directions and means of action agreed upon substantiate the assessment that this new summit meeting marks an important contribution to continuously developing comprehensive Romanian-Soviet friendship and cooperation. To our mutual benefit and interest and in accordance with the goals of socialism, peace, detente, security and understanding throughout the world.

FEDERAL SECRETARY VRHOVEC HOLDS MEETINGS ABROAD

Meets With Waldheim

LD311106 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2110 GMT 30 Jul 81

[Text] United Nations, 30 July (TANJUG)--Josip Vrhovec, Yugoslavia's federal secretary for foreign affairs, today visited Kurt Waldheim, the U.N. secretary-general, at the U.N. seat here today. In the ensuing talk, they exchanged opinions on the most current international questions and particularly considered international economic problems to be discussed at the forthcoming meeting of the foreign ministers of twenty-two developed and developing countries in Mexico.

Vrhovec and Waldheim also interchanged opinions on the situation in the south of Africa in relation to the forthcoming special session of the General Assembly on Namibia, situation in the Middle East and the Security Council's activities. They also discussed the problem of Kampuchea in relation to the recently held international conference.

Talks With Haig

LD022332 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1838 GMT 2 Aug 81

[Text] Cancun, 2 Aug (TANJUG)--The meeting in Cancun attended by ministers of foreign affairs of 22 developed and developing countries offered the opportunity for many bilateral meetings. Thus the Austrian, Swedish and Yugoslav ministers held separate consultations concerning the Madrid Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and examined opportunities for further activity on the part of the nonaligned and neutral countries in the continuation of the work of this meeting in October of this year, with the aim of achieving its successful completion.

Among the numerous meetings which Federal Secretary Josip Vrhovec held with the foreign ministers of countries participating in the Cancun meeting, in the course of which bilateral matters were reviewed, the federal secretary met with U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig. In a lengthy friendly conversation they reviewed questions on the further development of bilateral relations and exchanged opinions on a number of the most important international problems. Vrhovec and Haig concluded that relations between the two countries are developing successfully and expressed their governments' readiness to exert further efforts toward their all-round development on the familiar principles of equality and mutual respect.

FINANCE SECRETARY ENDS VISIT TO JAPAN 1 AUG

LD012118 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0903 GMT 1 Aug 81

[Text] Tokyo, 1 Aug (TANJUG)--Yugoslav Federal Secretary of Finance Petar Kostic today closed his visit to Japan. During the three-day visit Petar Kostic met with Japanese Minister of Finance Michio Watanabe with whom he talked on financial cooperation between Japan and Yugoslavia, especially the participation of Japanese banks in the crediting of projects in Yugoslavia and their contribution to the financing of Yugoslavia's balance of payments deficit. Kostic conducted similar talks with Deputy Governor of the Bank of Japan Satoshi Sumita. Kostic also held talks with representatives of several leading commercial banks in Japan.

At the end of the visit to Japan Yugoslav Secretary of Finance Kostic also met with Minister of State and Chief Cabinet Secretary Kiichi Miyazawa. On this occasion the two ministers considered several issues in the domain of Yugoslav-Japanese relations,

DISAGREEMENT OVER FOREIGN EXCHANGE, CREDIT LAW

LD312330 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1435 GMT 31 Jul 81

[Text] Belgrade, 31 Jul (TANJUG)--Stojan Andov, member of the Federal Executive Council, has informed the delegates of the Committee for Economic Relations With Other Countries of the SFRY Assembly Chamber of Republics and Provinces that the Federal Executive Council has not adopted the proposals for amendments to the draft legislation on the changes in the law on foreign exchange transactions and credit relations with other countries which this committee adopted at its session yesterday. In Stojan Andov's words, the Federal Executive Council noted that the adoption of this legislation is linked most closely with the implementation of the agreed on balance of payments of the country and that therefore it could not be delayed. In addition, the specialized service of the Legislative-Legal Commission of the SFRY Assembly has noted that the proposed legislation does not contradict article 262 of the SFRY Constitution and that therefore one of the main objections raised by the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia is not relevant. The Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia based its rejection of the law to a large extent on its being unconstitutional.

However, the delegates of the SFRY Assembly Committee for Economic Relations With Other Countries have not coordinated their attitudes, not even following this explanation, and have once again rejected the proposed draft law. The delegates of the Assemblies of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia and of the Socialist Republic of Croatia believe that the obligatory depositing with the National Bank of Yugoslavia of foreign exchange advances which work organizations receive on the basis of business contracted abroad and on the basis of deliveries of domestic equipment and ships will not have a stimulating effect on our businessmen and that there is justified fear that the adoption of this law will lead to a significant drop in the interest to carry out work outside our country.

The rights of the work organizations to control this money, in Stojan Andov's words, would not be threatened for a single moment provided they use the money to fulfill contractual obligations abroad. However, Slovenia and Croatia's representatives have expressed mistrust in such an attitude by the Federal Executive Council representative and have spoken of the fear of work organizations about this sum of several hundred million dollars simply "getting lost" once it enters the vaults of the National Bank of Yugoslavia or of it being used for other purposes.

The Committee for Economic Relations With Other Countries will present its attitude to the president of the Chamber of the Republics and Provinces who will also officially inform the Federal Executive Council of this attitude.

DJURANOVIC CHAIRS FEC SESSION ON ENERGY 31 JULY

LD011251 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1543 GMT 31 Jul 81

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 31 Jul (TANJUG)--According to the statement issued by the Federal Information Secretariat, a session of the Federal Executive Council was held today chaired by Veselin Djuranovic. The session adopted the report on the implementation of the SFRY energy balance sheet in the first 6 months and the estimate on the implementation until the end of the year. The Federal Executive Council noted that in the first 6 months this year the energy plan was on the whole successfully implemented and that the planned consumption of power, oil derivatives and other forms of energy was ensured with certain fluctuations and temporary shortages in particular of individual oil derivatives and coking coals. However, it is stressed that in the next 6 months this year serious difficulties in the production and consumption of individual forms of energy might arise.

Difficulties in electricity generation could arise owing to delays in completing the construction of 7 new powerplants, to several large generating units dropping out of production and also to restricted possibilities of ensuring the necessary amount of liquid fuel for thermal powerplants using such fuel.

Owing to the balance of payments situation and to the firm orientation about the country's balance of payments and foreign exchange balance as well as the country's payments deficit having to be kept within planned limits, the imports of crude oil and oil derivatives will be reduced in the next 6 months in relation to the planned imports in the energy balance sheet. Despite a high increase of 12.2 percent in the first 6 months in relation to the production achieved in the same period last year, coal production is not enough to meet all the demands. There are also difficulties in ensuring the necessary amounts of coking coal.

It was pointed out at the session that communities for economic relations with other countries should find solutions to ensure foreign exchange needed to import spare parts and necessary equipment for coal mines, in particular for those coal mines which are ready to start production very soon. The permanent conference of towns and municipalities of Yugoslavia should immediately determine in municipalities relevant programs and measures of saving, rationalization and substitution in the consumption of all forms of energy.

ALI SUKRIJA NOMINATED TO HEAD KOSOVO PRESIDENCY

LD311210 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1050 GMT 31 Jul 81

[Excerpts] Pristina, 31 Jul (TANJUG)--On the basis of consultations carried out in municipal conferences and the leaderships of sociopolitical organizations in the municipalities and province as a whole, the Kosovo SAWP nomination conference at its meeting today nominated Ali Sukrija for the posts of member of the Presidency of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo and of president of that Presidency. Ali Sukrija's election to the post of Kosovo Presidency member will be carried out by the delegates of the Kosovo Assembly, and on the basis of today's proposal by the provincial nomination conference, the Presidency president will be elected by the Presidency itself.

Ali Sukrija was born in Kosovska Mitrovica in 1919, has been a member of the Yugoslav Communist Party (LCY) since 1939 and was one of the organizers of the national liberation movement in Kosovo beginning in 1941. Since the war, Ali Sukrija has performed many important functions in the province, republic and the federation. He completed study at the Djuro Djakovic party school. Currently he is a member of the LCY Central Committee and of the Kosovo League of Communists Provincial Committee Presidium.

SUKRIJA DISCUSSES ALBANIAN NATIONALISM IN KOSOVO

LD310916 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0827 GMT 30 Jul 81

["Speech by Ali Sukrija at celebration in Kosovska Mitrovica"--TANJUG headline]

[Text] Kosovska Mitrovica, 30 Jul (TANJUG)--Recalling the July days in 1941 when the historic decision on the armed uprising in the country was taken, Ali Sukrija said that this decision marked the beginning of a new epoch, a new page in the common history and struggle for freedom and better life of all of our nations and nationalities in Yugoslavia. The armed action by a group of miners at the cable railway at Trepca on 30 July 1941 represented the first partisan shots fired to announce the beginning of the armed struggle in Kosovo and the formation of the Kopaonik partisan detachment, the nucleus of which was provided by the miners of Trepca and, later on, also of the Ibar area mines. When the first proletarian brigade was formed on 21 December 1941 at Rudo, those fighters from the Kopaonik detachment who joined it were known as the "miners" company.

Under the leadership of the Yugoslav Communist Party Regional Committee for Kosovo and Metohija, the development of the national liberation struggle led in 1941 to the formation of the Zeunel Ajdini partisan detachment and later on other partisan detachments in 1943 and 1944 and to the formation of the Kosovo brigades totaling over 50,000 men, of whom more than 6,000 Albanian, Serbs, Montenegrins, Turks and others laid down their lives for freedom, brotherhood and unity, for the socialist community of equal nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia, for a better future for the present and future generations.

We have now been building our socialist community of free people and equal nations and nationalities for three and a half decades, Sukrija said. Socialist Yugoslavia is not an artificial product, but the fruit and result of our nations' and nationalities' common struggle and of the enormous material sacrifices and loss of life suffered by them for its creation and development under the leadership of the LCY and Comrade Tito. This is why our nations and nationalities are so sensitive to any attempts by the external and internal enemies to threaten our independence, the great gains of our revolution and the integrity of the SFRY. We have been confronted by such attempts during the postwar period. Nationalism is one of the worst enemies of the cohesion of our equal nations and nationalities. It is consequently understandable that all the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia, Serbia and Kosovo should have resolutely opposed and smashed the brutal action of Albanian nationalism and irredentism and their counterrevolutionary activities in Kosovo. This is the case now and will always be so.

Speaking about the hostile actions in Kosovo, Ali Sukrija said that this dark counter-revolutionary plan and action had brought together the nationalist-irredentist forces in Kovoso and in other parts of Yugoslavia where there are Albanians, as well as all the possible emigre organizations of the Albanians abroad, ranging from war criminals and fascists to the supporters of Zog, with support and encouragement from the Albanian Workers Party through its agencies--the so-called "Red Front" and the Marxist-Leninist groups--and with generous assistance from the Ustasha emigration abroad. This hostile activity of the Albanian irredentists and nationalists in Kosovo continues today in various ways and in the form of various provocations. This is why persistent and constant efforts should be made to unmask their slogans and actions before the people and why political and legal measures should be taken against their exponents.

Owing to our own shortcomings, omissions and opportunism we were unrealistic for a long time in appraising the political state of affairs and the security situation in Kosovo. The League of Communists of Kosovo and its leadership, as well as the leadership and leading cadres of the other sociopolitical organizations and organs of the province, failed to be vigilant enough and live up to their responsibilities. This created the scope for the penetration of alien ideological concepts and for the activity and actions of the class enemy on the basis of Albanian nationalism and irredentism. At the same time it should also be mentioned that the bureaucratic-technocratic exclusiveness and style of work and behavior also facilitated the spread of a variety of negative influences ranging from national romaticism to the counterrevolutionary actions of the nationalists and irredentists.

At the numerous meetings held with citizens in connection with the hostile demonstrations, workers, farmers and other working people displayed a degree of despondency and even confusion, but also anger at having allowed all this to happen. The general condemnation of the hostile demonstrations and their exponents was at the same time a serious warning from all honest Albanians, Serbs, Montenegrins, Muslims, Turks and others with regard to the consequences of the Kosovo events, which must not happen again. It also represented criticism and a demand for timely and energetic measures to be taken in the struggle against the enemy and all the other negative phenomena and their exponents, in order to prevent any small evil from growing into a big one, as happened in Kosovo.

The slogan "Kosovo--a republic" is the one that is encountered most frequently in the present hostile activity of the Albanian nationalists and irredentists. This is essentially a platform that is aimed at breaking up the SFRY and creating a "greater Albania". It is a revival of slogans used during the fascist occupation. The League of Communists and all the progressive socialist forces of Kosovo should resolutely unmask with arguments the reactionary and nationalist-irredentist essence of this slogan.

Speaking about the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo, Ali Sukrija said that all honest Albanians, which means the vast majority of the people, condemn and oppose any pressure of this kind. Those individual Albanians who use the method of pressure do not enjoy the support of one single honest Albanian, because they were causing harm and damage to honest, peaceful and hardworking Albanians who have lived in the area for centuries and decades together with Serbs, Montenegrins and others.

A resolute and energetic common struggle must be waged by communists and all others to ensure that the Serbian, Montenegrin and other nationalities do not leave their organizations of associated labor and institutions, but that they stay on to struggle together with the cadres of Albanian and other nationalities against nationalism in their own environments and for Kosovo's general and economic stabilization.

Ali Sukrija went on to speak about ideopolitical differentiation. Though we are dissatisfied with the initial results and depths of this differentiation and the degree of its concreteness, a nihilist attitude to the already completed part of this process and to the results so far achieved is harmful. This process is in progress and is making headway regardless of resistance in certain environments, regardless of bewilderment and silence, excessive sensitivity and opportunism, reluctance to make enemies and petty bourgeois behavior.

In this great historical battle, which will not be a brief one, the communists and all the socialist and progressive forces of Albanian nationality are standing and must stand before all others in the front ranks of battle. In this battle we enjoy the support of the whole of our socialist self-managing community. We must be united because our interests are common interests that do not change and we shall emerge victorious from this battle, just as we have emerged victorious from all our past battles with Tito at our head and, today, on Tito's road.

Ali Sukrija also spoke about Kosovo's postwar development, which, especially over the past 20 years, has led, with the direct involvement of the working people and assistance from the whole community, to enormous prosperity both materially and in social development. These changes take place every day before the eyes of our citizens and of the whole world. However, Sukrija said, enemy propaganda, both that of the Albanian nationalists and irredentists and that of Tirana radio and television and Albanian emigres around the world, is spreading lies that Kosovo has not developed and that others are exploiting its riches. Sukrija also quoted data illustrating the vast changes in Kosovo and the great results in the development of industry, agriculture and other economic and social activities. Speaking about Kosovo's new medium-term plan, Sukrija said that even more dynamic development is scheduled, that further structural changes will take place and there will be more jobs for skilled workers and cadres. If plans are to be realized, Sukrija said, and if the battle for stabilization is to be won, it is necessary to create a new awareness and an understanding that the more rapid development of Kosovo depends primarily on us. Natural resources alone he said, do not mean development.

One of the most important questions now preoccupying the League of Communists and other social forces are the preparations for the beginning of the school year and for normal work in schools. In all our schools, up to university level, education and upbringing must be based on the LCY program, the Constitutions of the SFRY, Serbia and Kosovo and the unity of our socialist self-managing society. Those who take on the positions of Albanian nationalism or any other nationalism cannot be our children's educators.

The same applies to those who attend courses in our schools but stand on and act from nationalist and destructive positions concerning our self-managing society and cohesion, our nations' and nationalities' brotherhood, unity and equality and the SFRY's independence and integrity. This is demanded by working people and honest citizens of all nationalities--Albanians, Serbs, Montenegrins, Muslims, Turks and all others. With their full support and involvement we must make sure that their demand is met in the interests of the creative and peaceful life of all of us together.

Ali Sukrija went on to speak about the principles behind our international cooperation. We pursue the policy of good neighborliness, mutual respect, noninterference and cooperation and friendship with our neighbors. This is the policy we have also pursued toward neighboring Albania. However, the Albanian side misused the policy of good neighborliness by directly interfering and continuing to interfere in our international affairs. This is proved by events in the past and, regrettably, it is continuing today; the Albanian side is exploiting various means and methods of interfering in Yugoslavia's internal affairs, directing its activities, in conjunction with all the possible notorious irredentist forces, toward changing our constitutional order by attacking the independence and integrity of the SFRY. No independent state can tolerate this kind of behavior toward it.

This demented and chauvinist propaganda and behavior against the SFRY illustrates the danger of the game played by the Albanian leadership from the positions of greater Albanian nationalism and irredentism. Only the blind can fail to see how dangerous this game is for Albania itself, for the Albanian people and for this part of the Balkans. Owing to this all our nations and nationalities in Kosovo, primarily Albanians, will be resolute, together with all the other nations and nationalities of Serbia and Yugoslavia, in defending our independence, the SFRY's integrity, our equality, brotherhood and unity and our constitutional order against Albanian nationalism and irredentism and against its reactionary and destructive aims. We worked together to create our socialist community of equal nations and nationalities at the cost of enormous losses of life of our best sons and daughters and we shall therefore stand together in defending it.

We shall continue to support the principles of our policy of good neighborliness in our relations with Albania as well, but we shall not allow this policy to be misused for aims which are contrary to the interests of Yugoslavia, its nations and nationalities, its independence, sovereignty and integrity. Our road is clear, our future assured. We are on Tito's safe road on to which he took us and along which he led us; it is along this road that we are marching freely and courageously, sure of ourselves and of our future.

KOSOVO RESIDENT IMPRISONED FOR HOSTILE ACTS

One From Bujani

LD011512 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1423 GMT 1 Aug 81

[Text] Pristina, 1 Aug (TANJUG)--The council of the Pristina district court has sentenced Sadik Buja, aged 25, from the village of Bujani in the Lipljan municipality, to 8 years' imprisonment for threatening in a counterrevolutionary manner the SFRY's social system.

On 4 April this year, a day after the hostile and counterrevolutionary demonstrations from the positions of Albanian irredentism and nationalism occurred in Lipljan, at about 1700 the accused Sadik Buja went into the schoolyard of the elementary school in his village and shouted the hostile slogan "Kosovo--a republic." The accused then went on to incite pupils of the school at Bujani to shout the same slogan.

The accused Sakik Buja also threw stones at a passenger car in which a group of activists from the Lipljan municipality had arrived to a citizens' meeting to explain the essence of enemy demonstrations. He also persuaded about 10 pupils from the above-mentioned school to take part in this impermissible work and to throw stones at the vehicle. Unfortunately Sadik Bija did not stop at that. In the end he fired six shots from a pistol at this vehicle in which, fortunately there was nobody at the time and then ran away.

In this way, in addition to material damage and a violation of public law and order, the accused also committed a criminal act under article 114 of the SFRY criminal code--as was fully proved on the admission of the accused and statements by witnesses at the main trial--directed toward undermining our social system and federal order, wrecking brotherhood and unity and violating the equality of our nations and nationalities.

Eleven From Besinje

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[Excerpts] Pristina, 2 Aug (TANJUG)--The Prisina district court today sentenced a group of 11 persons who took part on April 1981 in the organization of hostile and counterrevolutionary demonstrations from positions of Albanian nationalism and irredentism, and in the violent theft of weapons from a vehicle of the Federal Secretariat of Internal Affairs at the Pristina-Podujevo road, in the village of Besinje, or in aiding and abetting those responsible for that crime, or in concealment of weapons.

For the crime of counterrevolutionary menace to the social order, under article 114 of the SFRY criminal code, the Pristina district court pronounced the following sentences, on the grounds of the proven indictments: Zumber Krasnici and Nedzmedin Pireva were sentenced to 13 years' imprisonment each; Bajram Sulja and Nagip Blaca to 12 years; Cerim Arifi and Enver Kolici to 8 years' imprisonment; Naim Statovci and Sadik Dragusa to 10 years' imprisonment.

Saban Dragusa and Romadan Redza were sentenced to 7 years' imprisonment each for the criminal offense of aiding and abetting the theft of weapons, under article 137, paragraph 1 of the SFRY criminal code. Sadri Berisa was sentenced to 1 year imprisonment for the criminal offense of concealing weapons, under article 154, paragraph 1 of the criminal code of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo.

The major details are now known about the incident in the village of Besinje, nor far from Pristina, about which various rumors began to circulate immediately after the hostile demonstrations. On the grounds of the indictment and statements by the witnesses and the accused, the main proceedings in the Pristina district court proved that the eight persons accused under article 114 of the SFRY criminal code--including Zumber Krasnici and Bajram Sulja in particular--were the main persons responsible for organizing the demonstrations in Besinje, in which several dozen others participated. These eight who have now been sentenced were also the most vociferous in shouting hostile slogans: "Kosovo--republic", "Constitution", "A republic by fair means or force of arms" and other slogans from positions of Albanian nationalism and irredentism. This group manifested its hostile activity on 2 April between 1100 and 1600 in another way, too. First of all they threw stones at many vehicles passing along the Pristina-Podujevo road.

This, however, was not the end of the offenses committed by the group. Zumber Krasnici and Bajram Sulja, who had, what is more, taken the flag of the Albanian nationality from the premises of the Besinje grade school before the demonstrations started, armed themselves with poles and bars and then stopped a truck, put it across the road and completely blocked traffic. In the meantime, a convoy of vehicles from the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs traveling toward Podujevo came from the Pristina direction. Led by Zumber Krasnici and Bajram Sulja, the group rushed one of these vehicles and took from it several rifles and a large quantity of ammunition, as well as a rifle stock. The extent to which this move was deliberately made is demonstrated by the proven fact that this group, after the violent theft of weapons, went off with a large group of demonstrators to the nearby woods and started training in how to use the stolen rifles. Of course, a number of bullets were fired into the air during this "training lesson".

It should, however, be mentioned that this "activity had not been put to an end by the organs of the Secretariat for Internal Affairs because they were aware of the fact that any attempt to stop the theft of weapons could cause bloodshed.

But, the protagonists of this event did not stop merely at stealing weapons and ammunition and at providing training in handling weapons. But, it was not long before the prosecuting organs got on to their trail, arrested them and found hidden weapons. In so doing they found in the possession of Zumber Krasnici, one of the chief protagonists of this enemy act--aimed at destroying our self-managing system, at wrecking brotherhood and unity and equality of our nations and nationalities--two automatic rifles. In Bajram Sulja's possession one rifle was found. Cerim Arifi took 1 rifle, 1 bag with accessories, 1 rifle stock and 50 bullets. Also in Nagip Blaca's possession an automatic rifle and a stock without ammunition were found and in Naim Statovci's possession 1 rifle, 1 stock and 70 bullets. Sadik Dragusa, it has been established, took a semiautomatic rifle with 10 bullets and Nedzmedin Pireva--who had also had previous convictions for criminal acts, together with Enver Kolici took 1 automatic rifle, 1 bag with accessories, 4 stocks and 80 bullets.

The indictment charges Saban Dragusa with having taken 1 automatic rifle with equipment, 5 stocks and 150 bullets from one person and hiding everything in the attic of his home in Prugovac. Instead of reporting and handing over the weapons, Saban Dragusa--who had also had previous convictions for coverup--consciously hindered the discovery of the culprits and the finding of weapons. Ramadan Redza also committed the same criminal act; he had also known where Bajram Sulja, together with another person, had hidden 2 rifles and 60 bullets and had not informed anybody of it.

Sadri Berisa, the last accused, according to article 154 of the criminal code of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, has not taken part in this enemy action but had taken the rifle and 70 bullets given to him 12 days later to the local office and thus had committed the criminal act of coverup.

TITOGRAD RESIDENT HELD FOR 'HOSTILE PROPAGANDA'

LD311218 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1040 GMT 31 Jul 81

[Text] Titograd, 31 Jul (TANJUG)--The council of the Titograd district court has sentenced Nika Camovic, an employee in a Titograd bakery, to 3 years imprisonment for the criminal act of hostile propaganda. Camovic is being held in prison until the sentence comes into effect.